Cook Islands artists, choreographers, performers and scholars write about the vibrancy of local dance, drumming, fashion, painting, quilting, carving, weaving, tapa making, theatre, and other creative activities.

The book's 21 chapters provide compelling evidence of Cook Islands visual and performance art as essentially collaborative endeavours, often inspired by the vision of a single ta'unga or expert, but elaborated through the collective improvisation of artists or performers who at the same time observe a highly complex, delicate and critical sense for ensemble.

Significantly, improvisation and innovation may come from any member of the group ensuring that Cook Islands art retains a strong 'grass-roots' enthusiasm, while undergoing constant reinvention and renewal.

COOK ISLANDS
ART & ARCHITECTURE

COOK ISLANDS ART & ARCHITECTURE

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COOK ISLANDS

Rod Dixon, Linda Crowl, and Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, **editors**

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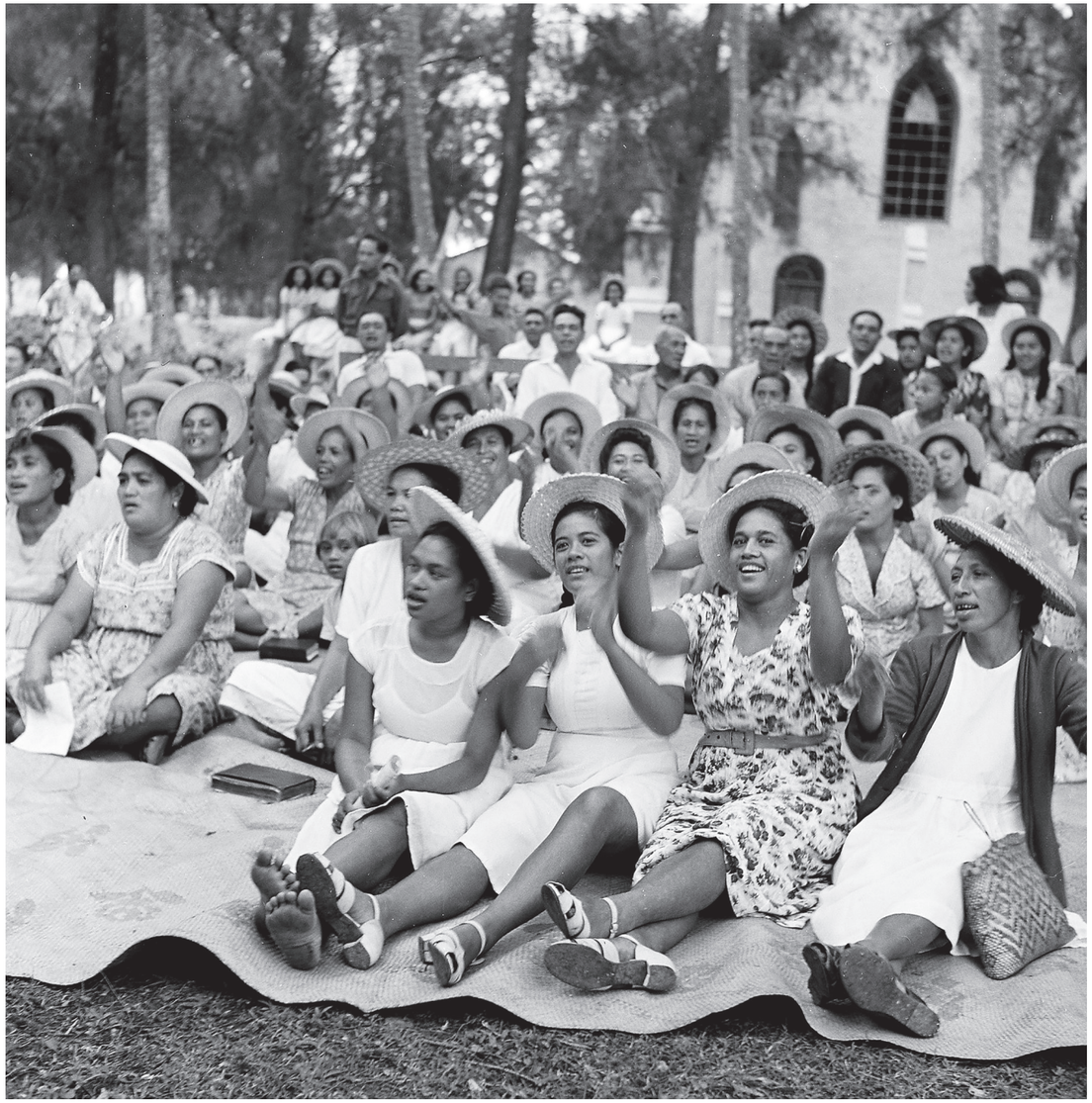
COVER IMAGE
Blessed Again by the Gods, Mahiriki Tangaroa, 2015. Oil on canvas. (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

INSIDE COVER IMAGE
The Wedding Party, Joan Gragg, 2004. Oil on canvas. 1200mmx1200mm (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

COOK ISLANDS ART & ARCHITECTURE

Rod Dixon, Linda Crowl, and Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, **editors**

Celebrating Cook Islands art and architecture, contemporary and traditional, in the 50th year of Cook Islands self-government



Oneroa Ekalesia Choir, Mangaia c.1955
(photo: Donald Marshall, D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

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INTRODUCTION

**Rod Dixon,
Linda Crowl,
Marjorie Crocombe**

Rongokea (1992) in her study of Cook Islands tivaivai[1] uses the term ‘akairi kite to describe a ‘shared vision’ of the final artwork towards which a group of women (va‘ine tini) work. This vision may have been sketched out or, in the case of tivaivai, cut out by a ta‘unga or expert, but is so elaborated in the process of creation that the final artwork is regarded as a group or collective creation.

Aue Te Ava (2011), following Maua-Hodges (2000), has sought to theorize the process of tivaivai making into a model of knowledge production for the Cook Islands, arguing that the ‘akairi kite or shared vision is itself incrementally constructed and develops through, and reinforces, key cultural values of collaboration, respect, reciprocity, and relationships.

The tivaevae model comprises five key values: taokotai (collaboration), tu akangateitei (respect), uriuri kite (reciprocity), tu inangaro (relationships) and akairi kite (shared vision) . . . . When the women come together, they have a shared vision of their knowledge of how the tivaevae is going to turn out. . . . When making the tivaevae, collaboration is fundamental . . . . One person may be sewing one part of the design, and others may provide cooked food to support workers. Subsequently, agreement about the design to be crafted and respected by those taking part (including leaders) reveals the shared project vision (Te Ava et al. 2011: 120, 122).

The essays which follow provide strong evidence of Cook Islands arts as essentially collaborative endeavours, often inspired by the vision of ta‘unga, but elaborated through the ‘collective improvisation’ of artists or performers who at the same time observe “a highly complex, delicate and critical sense for ensemble” (Grainger 1991:10). This improvisation – often “within and in defiance of the norm”[2] – is subject to the judgement of the ensemble before being accepted into the repertoire or rejected from it. By this means, an established body of work or body of knowledge (kite) may be added to (‘akairi) and renewed. Significantly, improvisation and innovation may come from any member of the collective or ensemble – “simultaneously creative and executive” (Grainger 1991:10) – ensuring that, in the Cook Islands, art retains a strong ‘grass-roots’ enthusiasm.

[1] Throughout this book, the spellings tivaevae and tivaivai are used according to the preferences of the author.

[2] Moyle 1991:8

ART, COLLECTIVITY AND INDIVIDUALITY

In 1833, just 10 years after Christian missionaries arrived on Rarotonga, the Rev. Charles Pitman described some aspects of the work of taura atua (traditional religious experts) whose role was to mediate between people in Te Ao (this world) and the gods in Te Pō (the other world) –

They had a meeting of their taura atua & people when they [the taura atua] were inspired by their gods & related to the people what their respective god had said to them the previous night in a dream, or what he had seen in the po . . . . When the god was displeased, the prophets would open the door of their sacred places (maraes[3]) & sweep away the dust, cobwebs, etc from the floor where their god was placed & from their deity also. The prophet would then take off his [the atua’s] robes (immense rolls of native cloth) & carefully examine it as he unfolded it. They often found the excrement of rats, their nests &c in it & large holes eaten by these sacrilegious intruders, which when discovered the prophet would inform the people of the cause of the anger of their deity & give orders for fresh cloth to be made & a new kiikii[4] to be adzed out, as the only means of appeasing the anger of the offended god (Pitman 2000:166, cited in Sissons, this volume).

The carving of a new god image or ki‘iki‘i had the capacity to re-engage a god with its adherents. The unwrapping of the specially fabricated tapa (bark cloth), recorded by Pitman “brings the god into this world, wrapping him up again sends the god back to the nether world, the po” (Gell 1998:113).

Nicholas Thomas describes Te Pō (the world of gods) as

the source not only of divine influence, but also of fertility, children and general efficacy. Agricultural growth, successful fishing and many forms of specialized work ranging from tattooing to house-building required sacrifices to deities which would ensure their presence or favour; chants at the beginning of such activities summoned the deities from the world of darkness while those at their conclusion sought to compel the gods to return. This auspicious presence — desirable temporarily rather than permanently – rendered activities, places and objects, tapu, a condition of heightened sanctity . . . (1995:106-107).

This points to one of the key roles of art, both material and performative, in Cook Islands society – to attract visitations of the divine to have effect in the world, favourable or malign (in healing, in warfare, in fishing and harvesting, in sorcery, and so on).

Hooper in his introduction to *Pacific Encounters - Art and Divinity* (2006) writes

Māori definitions of art link it to aesthetics, to assessments of beauty, taste, form and skill in manufacture. Anyone viewing objects in this book [Pacific Encounters] will notice the enormous care and refinement with which they were made. These qualities were pleasing to the makers and users, and also effective, for such care was intended to please the gods as a form of sacrifice designed to bring about beneficial effects . . . . These things were made to do a job, to have effects in the world. And they still do (2006:28).

According to Hooper, “. . . a god image and a chief, or a magnificent feathered cloak and an apparently humble fish hook . . . . were regarded on specific occasions, as vehicles suitable for the physical manifestation of divinity in the mundane world” (2006:31). Furthermore –

For this sort of image, the god can be summoned, coaxed or entreated by offerings to enter the image for the purpose of communication with humans be this for medicinal, divinatory, military or other reasons. Once the human/god exchanges are completed the god retires to a distance and its temporary vessel returns to “normal” mundane life (Hooper 2007:172).

Art and architecture – adornment, dance, drumming, chanting, singing, tapa making, carving, weaving, construction of churches and marae, etc – may be regarded as activities directed to engage the divine and temporarily contain it, before rituals dispatch it back to its own domain. For the period of visitation, an object or performance becomes, in effect, “the body of god in artefact form”

[3] more probably the ‘are atua or god house of the marae

[4] Savage (1962:105) defines “kiikii” as “n. an ornamentation or article of adornment, used in olden days to decorate a marae with, or decorate idols; the clothing of an idol.” Pitman, in the section which follows, describes ki‘iki‘i as a “representation of their god” in this case Tangaroa. “It appears that Tagnaroa [Tangaroa] their god often left them & went over to their foes . . . . This was known to be the case in their non-success in war, or the illness of some great chief. A great quantity of food was instantly collected, with pigs &c & taken to the Marae to invite his return, which when he saw, he would sometimes return. But if his displeasure was very great & he did not return, they would cut out another kiikii, i.e. representation of their god & clothe it with rolls of new cloth & often times erect a new Marae in order that his anger might be appeased” (Pitman 2000:235).

FIGURE 1
“the atua’s robes (immense rolls of native cloth)” (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

(Hooper after Gell 2007:172). In Cook Islands drumming, as March observed in the late 19th century, "It is evident . . . that the drum . . . . was regarded as Tane's embodiment; when the drum was beaten it was Tane that was struck; and for the ka'ara [drum] fissure it was Tane's voice that issued" (1893:328). Similarly, Jonassen (this volume) in his discussion of 'atu rutu (composing beat rhythms), notes how the word 'atu may also refer to god, while aitu refers to beats that add the sound and symbol of individual gods to the dynamic drum performance.

Presiding over the rituals that summoned and dispatched the divine were a wide variety of ta'unga, each deriving insight from their special relationship with the atua (god) governing their field of specialism. Handy describes the ta'unga as not only an adept but "had, in addition, sufficient experience and leadership to enable him to organize and direct the labor of other workers in communal enterprise" (1927:149). Part of the role of a ta'unga is to generate an inspired vision, but ta'unga themselves may or may not be directly involved in the realization of this vision. Their key role appears to be to lead and inspire the group (whether dancers, singers, builders, tapa makers, weavers, etc) towards a shared vision which the collective implements, elaborates and co-constructs.

Cook Islanders continue to recognize the inspired roles of ta'unga in contemporary Cook Islands life, including medicine and the arts. Lynssay Rongokea writes of tivaivai makers–

Most women know how to cut and sew tivaevae, but only a few women are expert in the art of designing, cutting and sewing tivaevae. Such women have attained the status of being a ta'unga (a person who is highly skilled in any art). The women may not always be able to say where a particular idea for a pattern has come from, but may find inspiration in their environment, drawing an interpretation of what they see directly onto the fabric, or onto paper before transferring it to the fabric (1992:2).

A number of essays in this volume note the role of ta'unga in collective creative processes. Andrea Eimke, for example, writes that a ta'unga tivaivai may design and cut hundreds of patterns but work on only a few – the realization of the tivaivai emerging from the shared effort of a sewing group. The ta'unga who designs the pattern, the person who chooses the colours and buys the supplies, the cutter, the seamstress, or the embroideress might gain recognition but tivaivai are not about personal fame, rather they fulfil a social function of linking people at significant life events – births, marriages, deaths. Consequently, as Eimke observes, "it is often difficult to think of tivaivai as individual art works, as seen through the lens of European culture, because tivaivai cannot always be regarded as the creation of one single person and because many remain anonymous works."

Even where the artist operates or performs individually, whatever personal recognition gained, often comes by way of virtuosity within a 'collective style.' Gell observed that individual tattoo artists who achieved personal fame among New Zealand Māori did so because their work instantiated what was collectively regarded as excellence in tattooing – not because their tattoos were appreciated as distinctive productions of artistic individuality . . . .

There was no culturally recognized linkage between artistic excellence and the expression of artistic individuality, and since genres and motifs were subject to such stringent canons of stylistic coherence, it is much more appropriate to treat 'collectivities' rather than individuals as units of style . . . . than it would be in discussions of Western art (Gell 1998:158).

The composer Percy Grainger makes a related point in his discussion of "communal improvisation" (1991:11) within the ensemble, as exemplified by the complex part-singing of early 20th century Rarotongan 'imene tuki (polyphonic songs with biblical texts).[5] Grainger noted "[A] great range of personal choice was left to all

[5] *Percy Grainger (1882 – 1961) Australian composer, pianist and ethnomusicologist, who regarded Rarotongan choral music as among "the greatest contribution to this type of music that has occurred in my lifetime. It is more important than anything that has been produced in Europe" (D.S. Marshall Archive, Box 5.1, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus; see also Jackson 2012).*

the members" of the Rarotongan choir (1991:10). "As soon as the first singer reached the keynote the other voices would chime in, one after the other or in a bunch, according to the free choice of each individual concerned" with "curving, descending diatonic phrases (never twice quite alike, but always bearing a sort of family likeness to those of the first singer . . ." (1991:10). Notwithstanding, each member retained "a highly complex, delicate and critical sense for ensemble" and operated as "a kind of improvising communal composer" in creating the melodic whole (Grainger 1991:10). Grainger compares this favourably to written music which "has divided music creators from executants into two quite separate classes – the former autocratic and the latter comparatively slavish" (1991:13).

Gragg, this volume, notes similar "communal improvisation" in the performance of Nuku, dramas with a Christian theme drawing on pre-missionary performance forms (Alexeyeff 2009:35). According to Gragg, Nuku has no written script. Instead during practice, the lines evolve, as participants improve them to ensure clarity, or to become more entertaining. Participants may also improvise in the final performance, often revealing their improvisation at the last minute. Similarly, McMath and Parima note that the Nuku performance –

. . . was not the act of a single individual, but rather a dramatic presentation involving collective decision-making and the cooperation of many members of the village. The actors . . . made up their own words to fit the general theme and outline of the story; for this reason they had been chosen, in part, on the basis of their language skills. During the rehearsals many of their lines became set, especially those which proved particularly popular. There was a limit to the place that innovation occupied: while it was actively encouraged in relation to dialogue, it was not permitted in many aspects of the performance (1990:381).

FIGURE 2 - 4
Some contemporary ta'unga, Ina Papatua (top), Michael Tavioni (left bottom) and Nga Mokoroa (right bottom) (photos: Taoi Nooroa, Mike Tavioni and Andrea Eimke).

Gragg also notes the important collaborative role of the audience in creating the collective performance of Nuku – ". . . the audience is invited to join in and be part of the Nuku, to dance and show its appreciation by clapping or becoming part of the cast for a short time in the spirit of inclusiveness and spontaneity."[6]

Alexeyeff notes of this collaborative audience-performer relationship that "Unlike theater or art which is built on a division between performers/artists and audience/spectators Cook Islands dance performances aim at co-construction of performance by audience and performers" (2009:83). Based on his own participation and observation in musical performance over many years, Jonassen (this volume) writes of contemporary Cook Islands drumming and dance, that "The foundation of every Māori narrative portrayed in drum sound and dance is built upon an interactive relationship between a drummer and his or her drum instrument, and other drummers and their sound makers. It advances also to more individuals or group dancers." This inter-relationship of drummers, drums and drumbeats is spoken of in genealogical terms ["the drum orchestra family" each with its own name, spirit, and role to play, each replaced as it falls out of use] emphasizing transcendence over generations and the transcendence of form beyond the fortunes of individuals. McLean writing of Pukapuka, in the northern Cook Islands, notes that dance composition is there entirely "a group process." The composer may be an individual ta'unga or group of ta'unga (sometimes inspired in dreams), whose work is then elaborated by the group.

[6] Alexeyeff (2009:80) writes, "This acts like a conversational exchange – the audience claps, the dancer smiles; the audience cheers, the dancer laughs. Interactive applause is enhanced by anther form of audience participation that I term the "performing audience" and involves members of the audience standing up and dancing along with the performers."

FIGURE 5
Nuku has no written script and relies, to a large extent, on improvisation by performers (photo: Lawrance Bailey).

The composer speaks the word rhythms to the drummers using a system of mnemonics . . . . With the accompaniment worked out, the composer next demonstrates his dance movements to the male dancers. The leading female dancer improvises matching movements which are followed by the other females. Other dancers may suggest improvements, and the complete dance emerges as a result of group co-operation (1999:97).

The construction of large public structures additionally demonstrates elements of "communal improvisation." The Rev. John Williams, describing the construction of the first church on Rarotonga, records the presence of "heathen" ancestor figures carved on centre posts in the church. He attributes these to the improvisational participation of various village districts, each allotted a portion of the work: *"unaccompanied by specific directions as to the precise manner of its performance,* the builders thought that the figures with which they decorated the maraes would be equally ornamental in the main pillars of a Christian sanctuary" (Williams 1838:33, emphasis added).

Jeffrey Sissons records how public buildings were built by the people at the request of an ariki (chief) or a priest. This practice, termed 'arevananga, normally followed the conferment of a new ariki title. In positively responding, the people publicly displayed acceptance of and loyalty to the new ariki. These large public structures – 'are ariki (chiefs' houses), 'are atua (god houses), and later 'are pure (churches) – were also 'art' objects constructed and decorated in a manner designed to be aesthetically attractive to, and suitable as containers of, the divine. Sissons writes that "'are ariki were, like 'are atua, highly tapu buildings. Indeed, it appears that like ariki and ki'iki'i, their mana was renewed or imparted through wrapping." Testifying in 1903, Te Ura told the Land Court:

I was present at the installation of Tinomana [as ariki]. Rei's mother and Vaimotu held the maro [loin cloth] and wound it around Tinomana. It was [Rei's mother] who put the maros on the arikis. At the opening of Makea's house [named] 'Enua manu', the mother of this boy, Te Rei, wound the cloth around the house and sprinkled it with European scent, before they all danced (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB I:320, cited in Sissons, this volume).

The ceremony to confer a new ariki title climaxed with wrapping the ariki with a named maro (loin cloth). The Land Court evidence reported that "after the maro ceremony, the newly constructed 'are ariki was also wrapped by women. Throughout Polynesia, women performed vital roles in mediating the world of atua and that of humanity, hence their prominent role in this context" (Sissons, this volume).

In her chapter, Sarah Treadwell notes how the early Christian missionaries "explicitly approached [religious] conversion through architecture and its fabrication," replacing the marae and the 'are atua with limestone churches as containers of the divine. Missionaries introduced a non-timber technology, lime wash, plaster, and coral stone; transformed architecture; and applauded the whiteness not only of their new lime plastered buildings but also those of the islanders who applied the techniques to their own housing. Ironically, the 'wrapping' of churches in lime plaster echoed the wrapping of the 'are ariki in white tapa cloth (replicated by Barraud, this volume).

Taoi Nooroa, in his essay, shows in text and pictures, how the rituals and performances involved in the manufacture and application of lime plaster to church walls help to renew not only physical structures but collaborative relations among districts on the island of Mangaia.

Dixon's and Sisson's chapters point to the role of marae and church in materializing competing social relations – including relations within and between

"Throughout Polynesia, women performed vital roles in mediating the world of atua and that of humanity, hence their prominent role in this context"
(Sissons, this volume).

vaka (districts), relations between ariki, relations between mata'iapo (titleholder), relations between ariki, mata'iapo and common people, and relations between men and women, adults and children. Just as the ancient marae had materialized and mediated the respective relationships of gods, ariki, priests and people –

. . . Churches at the centres of Christian settlements were physical spaces in which relations between ariki, priests, and people were practised and conceptualized in new ways, and they were connected places through which peaceful cooperation between districts might be perpetuated. However, for some mata'iapo, this encompassment amounted to usurping their independence, domination that had to be resisted through the destruction of those material forms that had enabled it (Sissons, this volume).

In the same way as Christian converts attacked marae, those mata'iapo resisting Christianity, focused their attack on architecture, in the burning of missionary houses and church buildings. "This was literally fighting fire with fire. If Christianity had established itself through the burning down of 'are atua (god-houses), it would surely be defeated through the burning down of 'are pure (churches); each side sought to dematerialize the social field of the other" (Sissons, this volume).

Jeanette Budgett records the innovative resolution to the resistance by Titikaveka mata'iapo to the missionaries' political elevation of the ariki, in the design of the Titikaveka church with its equal-sided walls and [once] centrally located pulpit: "It is not clear who designed the church, but Pitman's support for the democratic principles of Non-conformist Protestantism may be seen here . . . . This 'democratizing' tendency in the centralized plan reflected Non-conformist interest in the practical application of religion to daily life . . . ." Similar egalitarian principles might have influenced the breadth (rather than length) of the Arutanga Church on Aitutaki. "The English missionaries, newly socially mobile themselves as a result of the Industrial Revolution, offered the Cook Islands commoners equal access to a spiritual world formerly regulated by . . . a highly stratified society. The political implications of this gesture do not appear to have been lost on the Titikaveka congregation . . . ." Today, people continue to sit largely where they like – an uncommon freedom for "Pacific meeting houses in general, in which seating arrangements reflect finely drawn social and political distinctions, ritually regulating contact among those of differing status."

Dixon notes how the sennit decoration of the Mangaia churches, like that of Mangaian staff gods, metaphorically bound people to chiefs and chiefs to gods, and how, historically, such ties of relatedness were critical in waging war and maintaining peace. Mason elaborates the binding role of art in her chapter on weaving, "In Māori culture, it is better to be part of the group than to be alone. So it is in weaving, a fibre strand by itself is useless but many strands woven together give strength to an article. Further, when used as gifts, these useful articles can also unify and strengthen the bonds of human relationships in a community."

In his brief study of Cook Islands 'akairo or motifs, Tavioni explains that "the majority of 'akairo found in traditional Cook Islands art are based on representations of the human form, animals, birds, or other natural elements – and appear repetitively, linked together as unified groups. "Individual anthropomorphic forms (tiki) exist only as gods or deified ancestors. The natural condition is collective."

Eimke writes of the binding role of tivaivai passed from mother to child and how the exchange and possession of tivaivai help to link resident Cook Islanders with their overseas families: "Through tivaivai, family members both remain 'in touch' with their origin and maintain their status in the community." Moreover, "Tivaivai reflect how Cook Islanders perceive their world and people, their attitude towards belonging and sharing and their connection of past and present spiritual and material values."

Other authors consider commerce as having negative impacts on collective creativity and its once cohesive social effects. Mason, for example, argues that the underlying unifying role of mat weaving is gradually disappearing –

. . . weaving's contribution to social cohesion has all but gone. The reducing size of woven articles, particularly mats, symbolizes the triumph of individualism over the collective. Whereas mat-making was once a group activity amongst women, it is no longer. Woven articles today are primarily produced for personal commercial return. They are no longer the glue that brought people together in a ceremony of giving.

The collective nature of much art production in the Cook Islands presents a challenge to some Cook Islands artists living abroad, or returning home from countries where the focus is on artistic individuality. In the mid-1960s, one gifted Cook Islands painter, Paul Pomani Tangata, attempted to pursue an artistic career in New Zealand but as Mahiriki Tangaroa documents (this volume) his work, based on the colours, essence, and spirituality of his home island of Atiu, rendered in the manner of Abstract Expressionism, failed to find lasting recognition either in the Cook Islands or in his adopted home of New Zealand. In the mid-1980s, as fellow Atiuan artist, Ian George recounts, local Cook Islands visual artists responded to growing Western influences by forming an artists' collective known as the 'Akatikitiki group. This collective sponsored group exhibitions and workshops but was short-lived and had limited impact. Instead, George argues, "Contemporary influences on the visual arts in the Cook Islands have come from external sources . . . . Rarely have they been internal, emanating from a particular artist or group of artists resident in the Cook Islands."

While such Rarotongan galleries as Beachcomber Contemporary Arts (BCA) and The Art Studio have worked to build the reputation of individual 'named' artists through local and international exhibitions, some of these artists, including Kay George and Krick Barraud, have been drawn back to the community in their art practice and, as described in their chapters, regard many of their works as the product of a collective engagement (in Barraud's case "collaborative conversation").

The conversation was mutually beneficial, we learnt from each other through talking and making — a process that reinforced historical aspects of their culture. The boys [brigade members] shared their knowledge of materials, skills, and manpower. Their work was rewarded with donations for their planned activities. Viewing the working bees as culturally stimulating, the elders and leaders of the Matavera Christian Church gave their support and approval (Barraud, this volume).

This collaborative conversation has a long history in which art objects, techniques, and performances were exchanged in regional networks across Oceania (Hau'ofa 1993). Scothorn, in her chapter, reminds us briefly of the role of Cook Islands tapa in trade networks that circulated ritual and secular items among the Cook, Austral, and Society islands and suggests these trade networks as a fertile area for future study.

Architectural knowledge was also transmitted regionally via such networks. Jeremy Treadwell, in his chapter, notes how "there is widespread general evidence of architectural ideas traversing the ocean and leaving formal and etymological traces." As a result, the architecture of the Cook archipelago reflects –

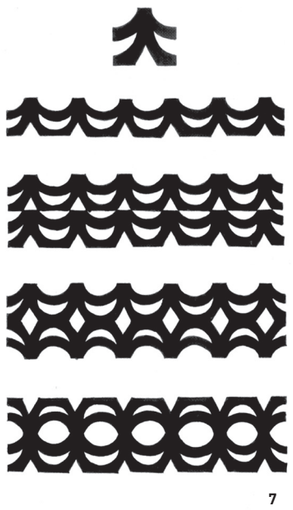

FIGURE 6
"Individual anthropomorphic forms (tiki) exist only as gods . . ." Rarotongan diety, early 19th century, wood, 42 x 16 x 16 cm (photo: Munich 191 © Museum Fünf Kontinente, München (photo: Marietta Weidner).

FIGURE 7
Tikitiki tangata (Images of man) – the repetition of human motifs, their hands and feet linked together, symbolizes the collective nature of Cook Islands society.

the complex historical and cultural relationships that evolved across this eastern stretch of the Pacific Ocean. Its varied character has allegiances beyond the administrative boundaries of the nation state contributing more significantly to a wider culture of Oceanic architecture. The architecture of the Cook Islands developed as part of a varied material culture that was both technically accomplished and culturally significant. It drew from local materials and migrating knowledge to mediate the varied island environments.

Art and adornment can also assert difference and similarity for purposes of identity. Kalissa Alexeyeff and Kay George note the use of uniforms cut from the same bolt of cloth, as identifiers of island identity, used by tere (travelling) parties, in much the way that patterns on tapa, or in tattoo, etc were used as signifiers of ngati (tribal) membership. Alexeyeff shows how clothing has been used to express collective identity throughout Cook Islands history, and with the incorporation of foreign fabrics, textiles, and design, has come to address issues of belonging and place in innovative and creative forms. "It is remarkable that, despite the cheap and widespread availability of European store-bought clothing, island-style clothing remains important to the expression of cultural pride and belonging."

Kay George in her work with local women became more aware of the role of adornment in creating a sense of identity not only for individual women but also for collective groups. She describes how Cook Islands' women's adornment has articulated openness to change and to influences from neighbouring Pacific countries and the wider world while continuing to use local patterns, designs, and colours. Young women, who now have greater access to education, technology, and money, fuse the label clothing of their counterparts in the rest of the world with their own local identity by tucking a flower behind their ear, wearing garlands of flowers or seeds, or having their body tattooed with Cook Islands designs.

FIGURE 8
The ʻei katu acts both as an item of personal adornment and a mask, obscuring individual identity within group membership (photo: Taoi Nooroa).

THE FUTURE

Grainger believed that the unwritten aspect of Cook Islands music (and by extension drumming, dance, etc.) permitted the Cook Islands artist to improvise on –

the traditional material . . . . inherited from thousands of unknown talents and geniuses before him to suit his own voice or instruments, or to make it conform to his purely personal taste for rhythm and general style. There is no written original to confront him with, no universally accepted standard to criticize him by. He is at once an executive and creative artist . . . (1991:6).

Grainger concludes that even though Cook Islanders have –

been exposed to the influence of European music long enough to have acquired from it the habit of singing in parts, sometimes the unmistakable characteristics of unwritten music will survive to a surprising extent and color all their harmonic habits . . . . No doubt the habit of harmony here displayed had been caught long ago from missionary hymns . . . yet the use made by these brilliant musicians of their foreign accomplishment was completely native in its application . . . . Their procedure followed habits rather than laws (1991:9).

McLean writing of ʻimene tuki almost a century later, found "no noticeable relationship between the hymn tunes nominated in the [Cook Islands Christian Church] hymn book and the indigenized tunes composed locally and sung in practice. Nor in view of evidently long standing current practice, is this to be expected" (McLean 1999:81). Rather –

There was a vigorous ongoing tradition of hymn-tune composition and a considerable turnover of tunes with new ones regularly displacing the old . . . . On Aitutaki, composers from each of the seven main villages were required to compose two new ʻimene . . . twice a year, at Christmas and New Year. The 28 new songs were first performed at combined services in the church at Arutanga and the best liked of them remained in the repertoire. Of more than 170 such songs composed by one informant since 1923, only the most recent were still performed, as the leading women of the others had died (McLean 1999:81).

> ***"There is no written original to confront him with, no universally accepted standard to criticize him by. He is at once an executive and creative artist . . . "***

Innovation such as Mangaian masking, a tradition not usually associated with central Polynesia, is regarded by Jacqui Durrant, this volume, as a similar example of ongoing improvisation within an established aesthetic. Mangaians "were interested in performance: the dance, music, and drama at celebrations and rituals long integral to Mangaian culture. To the Mangaians of the day, pare ʻeva and katu tūpāpaku [masks] were objects of creativity and liveliness, experienced in the immediacy of present moments." Furthermore, "they were only one material facet in the creative renewal of performances that had been going on for generations. In this sense, change was continuity . . . . Although the costuming had changed, the performances were not necessarily intrinsically different." Still mysterious, the masks inspire wonder "at the experiences and beliefs of the people who used them, at the individuals who first engaged the artistic license to make them, and at those around them who willingly adopted their creative vision."

Gragg describes the introduction, in the late 19th century, of fine hat making, to the northern Cook Islands by "Mama Toka . . . using the knowledge of weaving she already had . . . . to copy a new idea, to improve on it, change it, and make it her own. In her capacity as a missionary wife, she taught the women of her congregation to process coconut fronds and to weave hats . . . . Over time, rito crafts took on particular cultural importance." Mason describes how Cook Islanders, particularly those living overseas, have taken up straw and ribbon as well as flax, raffia, and plastic to make their 'traditional' crafts. While the forms of artistic expression and materials change, the underlying aesthetic often remains constant.

Jeremy Treadwell feels this has been less the case for architecture. Cook Islands architecture was once characterized "less by the enclosures and interior spaces of the West and more by a characteristic openness of space and form." Sarah Treadwell juxtaposes an enduring interruption: "The missionaries proposed policing of boundaries, sealing of surfaces, and separating by enclosure: a white coral architecture, closed and weighty, with precise geometry and reiterated borders isolated from its surrounding environment." Where Sissons, Budgett, and Dixon find elements of continuity in early missionary buildings, Jeremy Treadwell notes of the contemporary period, "The sadness of Cook Islands architecture today is less that the buildings of the previous centuries have disappeared than that the aesthetics and the technologies that had evolved with them were not taken seriously into the present."

Perhaps answering Treadwell's call, Eruera 'Ted' Nia has recently proposed sculpting a spatial response to the Cook Islands 'are kōrero (houses of history and learning), using architecture to innovate, create, and confirm a new Polynesian reality in ancient landscapes. His proposed 'are would have sacred stones laid, seats established and adorned by personal markers, ancestor posts raised and carved to portray genealogy, crossbeams lashed with sennit, and spaces separated for titleholders, family members' communal activities, and supportive activities. Such 'are kōrero could blend traditional symbols, patterns, and methods with new materials and methods in innovative ways (Nia 2010).

In respect of drumming, Jonassen remains optimistic for the future. In his chapter, he predicts that carving methods and materials may change, new instruments might be incorporated and contemporary drumbeats, over time, may displace some, but not all, traditional drumbeats. As traditional composers pass away and tourism increases, less time-consuming and spontaneous storytelling will occur and more routine orchestration and performance will take place. He forecasts that versatility might overwhelm specialization, but "the fundamental spiritual, intellectual, and expressive elements of the Māori drum instruments, drumbeats, rhythms, patterns, and the transcendent linkages that transpire in-between, will always remain."

Hā, ē, A'aere mārīē, na roto i te marū,
E te akakoromaki mā'ata i te au taime rōa rāi.
Nāku i akamata, nāku rāi e akaoti. Kia taka'i i te papa enua.
Kia ātui kite mekameka, o te 'ai tupuna o teia kōrero.
Kia riro au ei tūrama tuitui no te au uki a muri māī.
'Akamou i te pito enua! Ā – RŌ – Ā
Hā, Hā, ē, Iēkōkōū.

Yes, Tread carefully with humility and great patience at all times.
I started it and I will finish it. Allow me to step onto solid ground,
And weave to the power of ancestors who own this knowledge.
I shall become a beaming light to all descendants who come after.
Connect to the navel of the land. A gift? Yes. Celebrate.

(cited in Jonassen, this volume).

FIGURE 9
Members of a village cargo boat company pulling their boat ashore, Mangaia, c.1955 (photo: Donald Marshall, D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

“...in the Cook Islands, art retains a strong ‘grass-roots’ enthusiasm.”

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GLOSSARY

aitu	beats that add the sound and symbol of individual gods to a dynamic drum performance
‘akairi	add to
‘akairi kite	“shared vision”
‘akairo	motif
‘are ariki	chief’s house
‘are atua	god house
‘are kōrero	house of history and learning
‘are pure	church
‘arevananga	obligation to assist with labour, materials and food in the erection of buildings of a public nature (including the house of the ariki).
‘atu rutu	composing beat rhythms
ariki	chief, high titleholder
atua, ‘atu	god
‘imene tuki	polyphonic song with biblical text
ka‘ara	drum
katu tūpāpaku	literally, spirit skull or spirit head, here wooden mask
ki‘iki‘i	staff god
kite	body of work, body of knowledge, insight, vision
marae	sacred place
maro	loin cloth
mata‘iapo	leader of a district
ngati	tribe
Nuku	drama with a Christian theme drawing on pre-missionary performance forms
pare ‘eva	head covering for an eva or mourning ceremony, here bark cloth mask
ta’unga	expert, highly skilled adept
taokotai	“collaboration”
tapa	bark cloth
taura atua	traditional religious expert
Te Ao	this world
Te Pō	the world of gods
tere	travelling party
tiki	individual anthropomorphic image, ‘idol’
tivaevae	quilt
tivaivai	quilt
tu akangateitei	honour or respect
tu inangaro	“relationships”
‘uri‘uri kite	reciprocity, exchange of knowledge
va‘ine tini	group of women
vaka	districts

DEDICATION

for Ian George

celebrating his role in the growth of contemporary Cook Islands art and his inspiring work with students, teachers, and the community

Ian George, Taking Flight, Oil on canvas, Private collection (photo: Kay George).

Section One

PERFORMANCE

A village on Pukapuka under heathenism – in Gill, William Wyatt. 1876. *Life in the Southern Isles*. London: Religious Tract Society. p.18.

Chapter One

NUKU
SEEING THE FUNNY SIDE, COOK ISLANDS HUMOUR VIA THE RELIGIOUS PAGEANT

Joan E. Gragg

Humour and laughter in the Cook Islands are very close to the surface. We do not need excuses to laugh; we can laugh spontaneously at absurdity or incongruity; with relief or recognition; or for the sheer joy of laughing. Humour in the Cook Islands rarely springs from malice or superiority but tends to be inclusive and equalizing. Any subject can be the source, from every day incidents to serious subjects such as death, God, the orometua (pastor), and good or bad habits.

This chapter investigates the notion of Cook Islands humour, and subsequently place, through the context and visual representations of the religious pageant Nuku, a Cook Islands tradition for more than 160 years. It is not a pageant based on humour, but it reveals many characteristics of Cook Islands humour.

Humour in the Cook Islands has strong philosophical similarities to Zen humour. The humour of Nuku is playful rather than satirical and aggressive; yet, the purpose, as in Zen teaching, is to raise spiritual awareness. Similarities can be seen in the humour of Nuku and the various levels of Zen humour.

The first section of this chapter outlines my background and particular experiences that sparked my interest and prompted my research about humour in Nuku. The second section presents a historical background of the pageant from its early beginnings from a traditional and from a Christian perspective, the way it has evolved and who has taken part, its categories, and the connection between Zen humour and Nuku humour. The third section deals with my exploration of the subject in 2-dimensional and 3-dimensional media (collage and sculpture), then in photography and finally in an exhibition of sculpture.

LOOKING THROUGH TINTED GLASSES

Just how one laughs is partially shaped by situation, culture, class, personality and gender (Mitchell 1992:5).

My experiences and views of the Cook Islands have coloured my perceptions of Nuku. My family had the best of both worlds, Māori and papa'a (foreigner of European origin). I was born to Elizabeth Marsters and Ronald Powell, an Englishman. Elizabeth was the only natural daughter of Ketia Repaio of Manihiki Island in the Northern Cook Islands and Tearaia Marsters of Palmerston Island in the Southern Cook Islands. I have six siblings. Our eldest sister was born on Palmerston Island, and six of us were born on Rarotonga. We lived in Tutakimoa, a village inhabited by Northern Islanders in the centre of Avarua on Rarotonga. Our Mama (Grandmother) Ketia lived with us and brought us up on Manihiki values and stories, in loving competition with our English father's values. Many of the games we played were laughing games. One game, entitled Timokemoke ake ra, required one to sit still and not move or laugh. The first one who giggled had to stand up and dance to the beat of Mama's hands on the wood floor or her voice chanting a drum beat. Laughter and humour were an integral part of our childhood.

The cultures of our Northern Cook Islands, Southern Cook Islands, and English family members were very different. Food, for example, demonstrates some of the difference. Our Manihiki family sent us dried fish, dried korori parau (pearl-shell oyster meat), salted paua (tridacna clams), and uto (young sprouted coconut). Our Palmerston family (old English and Cook Islands Māori) sent baked uto, boson bird packed in lard, dried fish, turtle, and turtle eggs. Our English family sent us chocolate at Christmas time and cards with pictures of snow in shining glitter. We ate the Manihiki and Palmerston food whenever we wanted. We distributed food from the Northern Cook Islands to other members of our extended family, so everyone could enjoy the special foods, but we did not give Northern food to people who were unfamiliar with it because Southern islanders frowned at its pungent smell. We opened the English box of chocolates only after dinner, and my parents and we siblings could choose one before the box was closed until the next night. Our food customs symbolized different cultural norms.

Like food, humour appeals to different tastes, and taste depends on environment and cultural practices. "Taste unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others" (Bourdieu in Jahnke 1999:195). The Nuku pageant is a distinctively Cook Islands cultural experience, which I have watched since I was a child and with my sisters and our mother and grandmother. What we saw frightened, saddened, entertained, and challenged us, but the adaptation of Bible stories into a Cook Islands cultural context always amused me.

"This chapter investigates the notion of Cook Islands humour, and subsequently place, through the context and visual representations of the religious pageant Nuku, a Cook Islands tradition for more than 160 years."

The performance of Nuku evolves through collective decision making and the inclusion and cooperation of people in the village.

THE PAGEANT OF NUKU

For more than 160 years, the Cook Islands Christian Church has celebrated the arrival of Christianity here in 1821 by staging Nuku, an annual pageant held on Gospel Day, October 26. Each of the six ekalesia (churches, parishes) on Rarotonga is required to perform a nuku (a play) for the pageant Nuku[1] (Buse & Moeka'a 1995:276). Each ekalesia hosts the Nuku once every six years in an anti-clockwise rotation around the island of Rarotonga. On islands in both the Northern and Southern groups, villages host the Nuku in a similar rotation. It is an important community event, and anyone in the village can participate.

Participants almost always stage Nuku on the lawn in front of the orometua's home. The Nuku audiences are the participants of other Nuku, invited guests, and visitors to the island. The Māori language is used to discuss and to perform Nuku.[2] Nuku gathers the community together and involves whole families and many villagers in a fun-filled, cooperative learning activity. Nuku also teaches the moral doctrine of the church.

The performance of Nuku evolves through collective decision making and the inclusion and cooperation of people in the village. Songs and hymns are composed in consultation with individuals who have expertise in the various fields of music and dance. Actors volunteer for parts. Following the Polynesian tradition of oral history and storytelling, Nuku has no written script. Each actor makes up his or her lines from the group discussion of the proposed story. During practice, the lines evolve and participants improve them, sometimes at the suggestion of other members of the cast, sometimes changing for clarity or to be more entertaining. Participants might also improvise in the final performance. Most costumes are home-made, and people recycle the materials after the performance into clothing, cushion covers, curtains, and bedspreads. People bring props from home, and local businesses provide and transport larger stage sets. Many of the costumes and props are made from materials gathered from the environment, especially flowers. When marching into the arena, the cast of several hundred might wear head 'ei katu (flower crowns) of gardenia or dried banana leaves, and other natural materials.

The categories of Nuku include such Bible dramas as Jonah and the Whale, The Vineyard of Naboth, and The Writing on the Wall (Thorogood 1960:16). Another popular theme is the arrival of early missionaries on the different islands of the Cook Islands and in the Pacific (Carr 2007a). These topics are often amusing when participants incorporate modern elements into the Nuku. Frequently, people adapt a popular Bible story to teach a lesson and to illustrate today's problems. Use of current events can illustrate the theme of good against evil, as in the Nuku by Arorangi ("9/11 Horror portrayed in pageant" 2003). A new theme introduced in 2007 asked the question: Where will the Church be in 50 years time? (Carr 2007b).

A THEORY OF HUMOUR IN NUKU

What may be considered funny or sad in one culture may not be viewed either wholly or partially as such in another. Similarly people in one culture may laugh at or feel ashamed of others following an incident considered funny or sad (Mahina 2008:39-40).

The humour of Nuku, while raising spiritual awareness, tends to be playful rather than aggressive. It does not theorize about or classify humour but uses examples to point out humour. Thus, Cook Islands humour in Nuku is closely akin to the Zen philosophy that identifies "three distinguishable levels on which the comic moves in relation to the sacred, three moments or moods. . . corresponding to the laughter of Paradise, Paradise-lost and Paradise-regained" (Hyers 1970).

The laughter of Paradise can be compared with the spontaneity of laughter at incongruity and absurdity. The humour of Paradise-lost equates to lessons learnt through recognition, relief, and surprise. This may in turn lead to the humour of Paradise-regained, which may be associated with the joy of laughing, wisdom, self knowledge, and harmony. "It is this revelatory redemptive potentiality that is appropriated in Zen as both a pedagogical method and a psychological mechanism for attaining enlightenment and liberation" (Hyers 1970:4). Hyers also claimed, "Laughter in Zen comes not from inner tension but inner harmony" (1989:274), which can be seen as being able to laugh at oneself from a position of understanding. Within Nuku, these various aspects of humour are reflected.

Examples from Nuku demonstrate the various Zen levels, which do not exist in isolation from each other. One might laugh first for one reason, then for a different reason because of a new perception, and then continue laughing because of the joy of insight.

Hyers (1970) discussed Paradise as a state of freedom, allowing one to laugh with the innocence of a child, with spontaneity and naturalness, at incongruity and absurdity. The Rev. Bernard Thorogood described the Nuku, The Vineyard of Naboth, in a way that reflects the Zen spirit of Paradise: "It is a stirring sight and a shattering sound when these hundreds of children and young people march into the arena, each group singing its own song as loudly as possible and as long as possible" (1960:16). People parading into the arena, whether a large or small group, invoke a feeling of good will and kinship in the audience because there is always someone or something that ties one to the group: friends and family, people having a good time and people dressed as familiar Bible characters dancing Cook Islands style. One experiences a feeling of togetherness that allows the freedom, spontaneity, and naturalness to laugh in the nature of children.

People often use food to humorous effect in Nuku. For example, when the villagers are asked to bring food to welcome guests, the expectation is for local foods, but to add humour, someone might stand a carton of juice in a basket full of local foods. A Nuku in Manaune (2007) portrayed a missionary who arrived in Pukapuka in 1869 and was held captive on the island. He called for his belongings and a sandwich for lunch to be brought ashore. This is funny because people usually eat two meals a day; sandwiches are a relatively new food in the Cook Islands as a whole; and atoll dwellers still do not have daily bread, let alone a sandwich, for lunch.

I observed 'Paradise' humour also in a Nuku that enacted the arrival of missionaries at Aitutaki in 1821. The missionaries tried to convert the people of Vaipae to Christianity, but the chief would not accept the Living God until his party had taken revenge for the warriors that they had lost in a recent battle with the neighbouring village. During the re-enactment of their deliberations, a cell phone rang and the missionary answered. As he handed the cell phone to the chief, he said in English, "Here, it's the Lord on the line for you." Everyone who saw this collapsed with laughter. The cell phone and the use of English both added an element of surprise and incongruity, given that the setting was 1821.

Hyers went on to discuss Paradise-lost as a state of "self assertion, of desiring and grasping, of separation and estrangement, of rational and moral discrimination." The playfulness of the child is lost and the humour becomes

[1] *I use the term Nuku to describe both a single play and the collective of plays performed annually on 26 October.*

[2] *Mission schools taught in the Māori language until 1895 when an act of parliament forced them to begin teaching the English language (Scott 1991).*

more "self conscious, more reflective, more serious, more mature" (1970:5). It is the ability to see the serious side of a situation and to see its opposite side. The duality elicits the potential for humour.

An example of the humour of Paradise-lost can be found in the Arorangi Ekalesia 2003 Nuku, when the ekalesia broke from the tradition of using a Bible story to illustrate "Good against Evil" ("9/11 horror portrayed in pageant" 2003). The Nuku production related evil events happening outside, and compared them with events happening inside the Cook Islands. They composed lyrics that told of diseases prevalent in the world, such as AIDS and SARS, and others prevalent in the Cook Islands, such as diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease. They highlighted the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over land. Conflict over land is a well-understood issue here. The raw emotions of shock, disbelief, horror, fear, sorrow, and anger from 9/11, still being reported two years after the event, kept the emotions alive. This Nuku production also played on the opposite of horror: local people dressed as New York business people, rushing about in their city clothes, high heels sinking into the grass, people jumping from windows onto mattresses below. The local fire brigade was in full swing amid a cacophony of sirens and screams, with children on roller-blades fleeing the scene. The representation of the event in the Cook Islands unwittingly became a source of humour. The visitors to the island were shocked and disgusted, and they walked away. The local audience laughed and enjoyed the Nuku. The event took on a totally different perspective and no longer belonged to the realm of horror because the Nuku had cleared the air of raw emotion. The humour in this instance clearly demonstrates one of the functions of humour in Zen, that of reversing and collapsing categories, which in turn leads to inclusiveness.

Hyers (1970) described Paradise-regained as the revelatory level of the comic spirit. "Here humour becomes the freedom to play and to laugh which is contained within the freedom of enlightenment" (p.5). Mitchell expressed it as,

. . .a pleasure in perceiving or remembering ambivalent disjuncture, an enjoyment of the sudden transformation from perplexity (or not knowing) to amused insight. The pleasure is in seeing our ordered world suddenly disordered, only for a fleeting instant, as with a witty remark, or for minutes or more by a farcical performance. Our laughter, itself physiologically conclusive and chaotic, is an audible metaphor for the cognitive disorder we are enjoying. As an unmediated response, humorous laughter is a time-out or out-of-time covering response for savouring the disruptive event until cognitive order and speech returns (1992:26).

The humour of Paradise-regained can also be seen in the Nuku that adapted a Bible story to illustrate contemporary problems. The Nika'o Ekalesia adapted the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden to symbolize the moral doctrine of obedience (Kapi 2008). They used alcohol, rather than the apple of the original Bible story, to illustrate temptation and disobedience. The moral of the story was obedience, with which Eve had difficulty because she was maromaroa (bored, discontented, gloomy, lonely, melancholy, needing a change of scenery). Boredom from staying at home koi tita (picking up leaves), akiaki tiare (picking flowers), and pua kakau (washing) day in and day out, can cause maromaroa. When Eve begged Adam to allow her to go and see what was happening outside the Garden of Eden, the audience recognized a very real desire to get out of a state of melancholy. The humour of this situation is in familiarity with a condition that everyone suffers from at some point, and recognition that it happened in such a perfect place. The Nuku continued with the devil, Satani, tempting her with alcohol while she was in the state of tamataora (entertainment and distraction) in order to get rid of maromaroa. The laughter from this situation was the recognition of a familiar human affliction highlighting a common condition, i.e., "self knowledge, results from the understanding that an error has been committed, and this knowledge becomes a source of celebration through laughter" (Mahina 2008:39).

Hyers went on to point out that a

function of humour in Zen is that of embracing and uniting of opposites. There is a kind of humour which separates one thing from another and elevates one group over another, as is the case with racist and sexist and ethnic jokes. But the uses of humour in Zen have an opposite intention. Zen humour moves toward inclusiveness and nonduality (1989:272).

This inclusiveness and nonduality that results from humour in Nuku is evident in many of the examples discussed above. It is also evident in the use of costumes and props. For example, King Solomon wore a crown and clothes that an ariki (chief) might wear, and he sat on a 'throne' that was an everyday home-made chair. King Solomon was not a stranger from another place; he was a member of the local community and was embraced as a chief who lived in the village. By substituting the local equivalent for the real thing from a story, the humour became inclusive and everyone laughed. The stories that originated in a very different time and place have humour and relevance when transposed into the local setting. Rosaline Redwood discussed a Nuku in the 1960s:

One ambitious party depicted Jesus coming into Jerusalem, and since no ass was available, he was riding a shining new bicycle, [which was the popular mode of transport], jumping off now and then to "pause by the way side and heal the sick." I wondered if the audience was intended to rock in side splitting laughter at the antics of the actors, but the more they applauded the funnier the actors became (1966:163).

Participation is another aspect of humour in a Nuku; the audience is invited to join in and be part of the Nuku, to dance and show its appreciation by clapping or becoming part of the cast for a short time in the spirit of inclusiveness and spontaneity. In summary, Table 1 explains some connections between Zen humour and Nuku humour.

Zen humour and Nuku humour

Levels and Functions	Characteristics	Implications
Paradise	Innocence (of a child)	Spontaneity Incongruity Absurdity
Paradise-lost	Duality (seeing both sides) Rationality Learning (adult-like)	Recognition Relief Interpretation
Paradise-regained	Unity Wisdom Enlightenment Self-knowledge Harmony	Recognition Surprise Joy of Unity
Collapsing categories		Non-duality
Embracing opposites		Inclusiveness

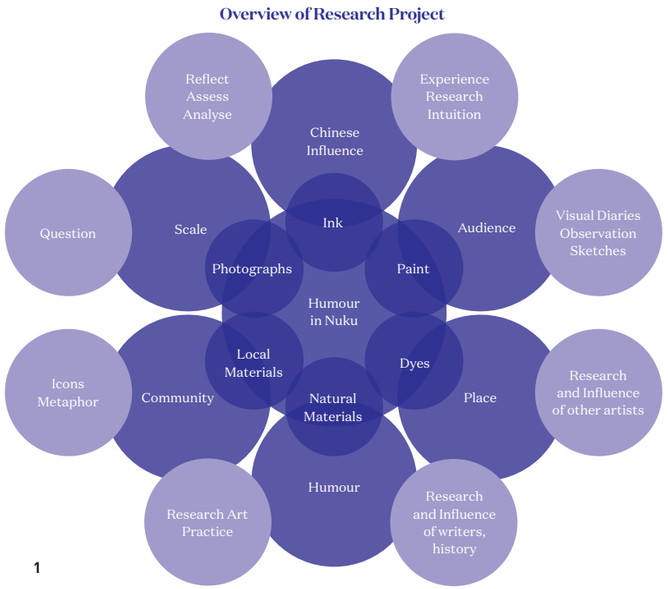

FIGURE 1
Strategies – Art Practice, Diagram.

HEURISTIC RESEARCH BASED ON NUKU

The methodology I used to examine the Nuku was heuristic in nature, focusing on discovery rather than proof, which allowed for the knowledge of experience and the process of finding existing knowledge to add to the discovery of new knowledge. I found new ways to visually explore and experiment to re-create the humour and the sense of place that are characteristic of Nuku. By experimenting with different Cook Islands weaving techniques and different materials, I explored a sense of Pacific-ness, demonstrated by the woven limbs of the figures. Although the focus here was on establishing place through the use of materials, the incongruity of the technique and the materials (i.e., woven arms and legs) suggested the comic, just as the incongruity of materials used in Nuku is a source of humour. The experimentation of ways to express the humour of Nuku occurs through the use of such strategies as incongruity, recognition, spontaneity, and the joy of unity (co-operation). The process developed through experimentation with 2-dimensional media and progressed to 3-dimensional media and natural materials, each stage progressing to the next, building on new discoveries. Chronologically, the project developed from 2-dimensional media to 3-dimensional collage and sculpture, then to photography and back to sculpture. Figure 1 offers an overview of the research project as a whole. I had painted Nuku in oil on canvas (figures on opposite page) but was challenged by the research project to explore a different medium or means of expression.

I began my investigations by painting the Nuku audience based on the predominance of sketches in my visual diaries collected over a number of years (Figs. 2-5). Inspired by my observations of this audience, I explored ideas of a crowd, using black ink on paper. I was influenced by the Chinese artists who used an aesthetic theory which, above all, emphasized the sentiments. Gu Kaizhi's

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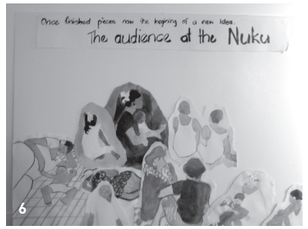
FIGURE 2
Joan E. Gragg, 2006, Mama and mokopuna (granddaughter) on the way to church, Finger painting with oil on canvas, 330 x 240 mm.

FIGURE 3
Joan E. Gragg, 2005, The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon attended by handmaidens holding palm frond umbrellas, Nika'o Nuku, Oil on canvas, 650 x 680 mm.

FIGURE 4
Joan E. Gragg, 2005, The VIP audience watching the blessing of the messenger from King Solomon, Nika'o Nuku, Oil on canvas, 650 x 680 mm.

FIGURE 5
Joan E. Gragg, 2005, The angel on the back of the truck is heralded by a trumpeter and singers, Nika'o Nuku, Oil on canvas, 650 x 680 mm.



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views followed theories such as “likeness in spirit resides in unlikeness” and “a painting should be something between likeness and unlikeness” (Gu Kaizhi c.345-406 in Hearn n.d.). A particular interest to me was these artists’ disregard for the limitations of perspective, proportion, and light and their use of a moving perspective without a focal point.

I wanted to investigate how to show the Nuku audience as a specifically Cook Islands audience in order to establish a sense of place. The idea was to convey a loose rendition to suggest a relaxed, happy, haphazard crowd and to express the feeling and ideas of community, family, church, humour, and co-operation. Although these paintings did show the attitude of the audience, the loose haphazard crowd did not materialize until I assembled them in a collage (Fig.6).

As Stewart Hall says, “One soon discovers that meaning is not straightforward or transparent and does not survive intact the passage through representation. It is always putting off or ‘deferring’ its rendezvous with Absolute Truth” (1977:9). In exploring humour in the context of Nuku, I thought about whether viewers of my work would be an audience in New Zealand or in the Cook Islands. Because Nuku is a unique Cook Islands event and is performed using Māori language, the connotations of place and language are based on cultural interpretations. Consequently, assuming viewers would recognize cultural icons, symbols, and metaphors, I decided to focus on a local audience. Therefore, the random assembly of the collage, in terms of size, scale, and random placements, more closely reflected the inclusive and relaxed crowd that I had experienced at Nuku. I wanted to represent the whole village involvement in Nuku and to give the impression of many things happening at one time.

My next experiments continued to explore village participation, but because the people of the audience of Nuku are also the players in Nuku, I wanted to explore the idea of the viewer sometimes feeling involved in the Nuku and at other times watching the Nuku. When I painted a particular Nuku, Jonah and the Whale, I moved from a more literal perspective, shifting from an audience point of view to being involved as an actor, showing the story from different points of view. For example, Figure 7 shows an audience view of the whale, while Figure 8 is from the view of the whale and Figure 9 is Jonah falling into the whale’s stomach.

FIGURE 6
Joan E. Gragg, July 2008, The audience, Collage, Ink on paper, 800 x 1000 mm.

FIGURE 7
Joan E. Gragg, June 2008, Jonah resisting being swallowed, Ink on paper, 210 x 297 mm.

FIGURE 8
Joan E. Gragg, June 2008, The whale looks down, Ink on paper, 210 x 297 mm.

FIGURE 9
Joan E. Gragg, June 2008, Jonah falling into the whale’s stomach, Ink on paper, 210 x 297 mm.

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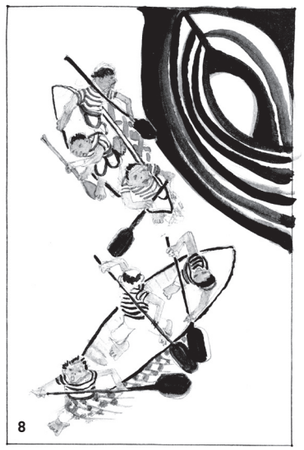
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Instead of portraying one Nuku, as in Jonah and the Whale, I decided to paint the whole day of Nuku in one picture in keeping with the idea of Nuku being an island event (Fig.10). I watched tapes and digital video discs (DVDs) of Nuku, by Julie Taripo (2003), Cook Islands Television (2003), and Tangi Kapi (2008) to get further ideas about place and humour. I tried to capture the event by painting known features of Rarotonga to establish place, for example the mountains (Fig.11) and the coral churches (Fig.13), and to rely on humour to be read from the accumulation of drawings within the entire picture.

After I finished these paintings, I concluded that neither ink and brush nor black and white satisfactorily represented an expression of Nuku. Although the lack of colour did concentrate the focus on the individual drawings, it did not evoke the festive pageantry of Nuku. The medium lacked identification with the Cook Islands, and perhaps some colour would have more connection. The black ink had no cultural association with the Cook Islands. Morito had found the same drawback when trying to express the Japanese landscape in a European medium of oil paint (Morito 1927).

As Keith Moxley said,

While the notion of time and culture-sensitive epistemologies is enormous assistance in thinking and knowledge in an age of globalisation, we should never forget that the very tools we use to understand the clash of epistemological systems bears the imprint of the culture in which it was developed (in M. Smith 2008:178).

FIGURE 10
Joan E. Gragg, December 2008, The Nuku, White acrylic paint on black building paper, 1200 x 5000 mm.

FIGURE 11
Mountains, detail.

FIGURE 12
Whalers in long-boat made of coconut fronds, Detail, Jonah falling into the whale, upper left.

FIGURE 13
Coral church, detail.

FIGURE 14
Performers, detail, Jonah falling into the whale, upper right.

FIGURE 15
Joan E. Gragg, April-May 2009, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, Palm fronds, coconut, soft coral, banana leaf, *Leucaena* seed pods, and cordaline leaves. Each figure is 500 x 380 x 200mm.

FIGURE 16
Village elders dressed as Moses's people resting in the desert. Nuku Pageant Pictorial (*Cook Islands News*, 1 Nov 2003:9).

The use of colour features strongly in Cook Islands culture; so to add an element of colour, I used local tourist brochures to make collages, repeating the technique of earlier work. The results led me to look for other media that had closer associations with the Cook Islands. I experimented with local dyes from the garden, turmeric and nono (*Morinda citrifolia*) and explored the use of stamps using coral, coconut husks, and old pandanus fruit. These experiments did not produce satisfactory results because they mimicked a painting approach and I was looking for something else. It was the smell of nono and turmeric and the tactility of the materials that led me to rethink the idea of expressing place.

I considered Ani O'Neill's work, reviewed by Lisa Taouma,

O'Neill's refusal to adhere to the constraints of the traditional or aesthetically pleasing but sometimes soulless renditions of the Pacific have distinguished her as an artist who has used the notion of Pacific exotica, colour, and 'spice', and rather than reject it has negotiated the terms of its usage (in McAloon 2009:389).

Consequently, I decided to change my focus by exploring natural materials because people use them in their daily lives and in Nuku. This meant a change from a 2- to a 3-dimensional approach. Thorogood wrote of Nuku, "Adaptation and ingenuity are tested. A man needs a beard – get the grey trailing moss off the old coconut trunks; David's soldiers need helmets – use the traditional Cook Island helmet of coconut husk: Joshua's men need trumpets – use the Polynesia trumpet, the conch shell" (1960:16). I gathered materials such as palm fronds, seeds, and leaves to make 3-dimensional figures representing the audience and actors in Nuku. Cook Islanders use palm, especially coconut, fronds for decoration, for

thatching, for weaving into containers for carrying produce, hats, mats, and toys – to name some of many uses. They adorn themselves with flowers and use plants for medicine. I was reminded that "the methodology of using different media says more than the physical picture and evokes a deeper understanding of the philosophical position of the artist and his environment" (Tsunetomo 1960:16).

In the case of what he called bricolage, the process of creating something is not a matter of the calculated choice and use of whatever materials are technically best-adapted to a clearly predetermined purpose, but rather it involves a 'dialogue with the materials and means of execution' (Levi-Strauss in Chandler 2009:5).

The use of these natural materials, in response to my observations and research (for example Fig.15) meant that I had found a medium that expressed the Cook Islands and humour through metaphor. The levels of humour of recognition, spontaneity, and possibly joy could be present in the figures. However, the figures from the natural materials (Figs. 17-19) unfortunately deteriorated quickly, losing their original texture and colour. This parallelled the practice of discarding the natural material costumes and props of Nuku as soon as they had served their purpose, which in turn reflected traditional pre-Christian practice. Lamont wrote of coconut fronds being used on ceremonial occasions in Penrhyn before the influence of Christianity in the late 1860s.

A youth, having cut three small branches from a young coconut tree, plaited the leaves of each into something resembling the form of a man, and handed them to an old chief. [At the ceremony, the chief] lifted the leafy god and struck him violently against the stone before him, repeating the same with all three. The idols having done their part in the ceremony, were unceremoniously thrown aside amongst a heap of rubbish . . . . The three cocoa nuts [sic] that had played such an important part in the whole proceedings were now produced and after some more ceremonies, were broken (Lamont 1867:122-123).

Because of the temporary and ephemeral nature of the natural materials, I had to consider the feasibility of using these materials in an exhibition. One solution was to use Ani O'Neill's idea and to call on others in the community to work collaboratively, which is also a predominate feature of Nuku preparations (Robins 2005). Another solution at this stage of the project was to trial a combination of natural and more permanent materials, which meant I could retain some control to continue exploring Cook Islands humour in Nuku.

FIGURE 17
Joan E. Gragg, April 2009, The wise men waiting for King Belshazzar, Cycad seed pods, banana leaves, grey moss, soft coral, 170 x 170 x 190 mm.

FIGURE 18
Joan E. Gragg, April 2009, The Pastor & Mrs, Coconut, palm fronds, tapa, cotton, rayon, 450 x 480 x 370 mm.

FIGURE 19
Joan E. Gragg, April 2009, A soldier, Coconut, palm fronds, banana leaves, 450 x 480 x 370 mm.

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21A

21B

21C

FIGURE 20
Joan E. Gragg, May 2009, VIP audience, Natural materials and fabric, 260 x 210 x 130mm.

Joan E. Gragg, June 2009, Details of Jonah's limbs, Local pandanus leaves, cotton, wicker, imported clay, and plastic eyes.

FIGURE 21 A – C
Joan E. Gragg, June 2009, Details of Jonah's limbs, Local pandanus leaves, cotton, wicker, imported clay, and plastic eyes.

Using natural and more permanent material, I also experimented with gesture and body language to create an impression of a relaxed atmosphere (Fig.20). By giving the illusion of the body weight, sitting figures appeared comfortable in their chairs. Wire inserted into the hollow pandanus limbs allowed them to be bent into gestural positions. The use of coke bottle chairs was based on the idea of bricolage or making do with available materials. Grouping the figures was an attempt to capture a sense of the VIP audience, dressed in their Sunday best. The incongruous materials were a source of humour. The clothing also evoked humour through recognition, including rito (coconut fibre) hats, 'ei (flower garlands), Sunday clothes, and oversized jandals. My concern with these audience figures was to present intimate moments and to elicit the humour of recognition and inclusiveness.

To again explore humour, I chose to further experiment with the characters from the story of Jonah and the Whale, which I had previously used (Figs.7-9). This time, I used imported clay in combination with local materials. The availability of modelling clay made it possible to make more realistic hands, bare broad feet, and facial expression, exaggerating the features to express Cook Island-ness in order to further elicit laughter through recognition. The incongruity of imported materials combined with local materials was used to explore gesture and place (Figs. 21 A – C).

I used wire netting (a commonly used temporary fencing material in Rarotonga) for the whale's mouth, to convey the idea of being caged and trapped, reflecting Jonah's predicament. I used scraps of TAV's locally printed fabric to dress Jonah in Rarotongan designer clothes. This process of improvisation is an integral part of the creation of a Nuku performance. I chose the materials because they did not require more than hands or hand tools to manipulate, as advocated by Ani O'Neill, reflecting the low-tech approach to making Nuku costumes and props that contribute to the humour.

To intensify the idea of producing humour through exaggerated fear, I covered the wire netting with black fabric. However, the photograph, to record the work, appeared more frightening than humorous. The angle of the photograph further changed the perspective and altered the perception for the viewer. "Denotation is what is photographed, connotation is how it was photographed" (Friske in Chandler 2009:1). The connotation of powerlessness evolved from the composition of the photograph further activating a mythical level of Jonah disappearing into the unknown.

FIGURES 22 & 23
Joan E. Gragg, June 2009, Jonah in the whale's mouth, Cane, wire netting, clay, pandanus leaves, styrofoam, 130 x 110 x 110 mm.

FIGURE 24
Joan E. Gragg, July 2009, Jonah in the whale's mouth, Cane, wire netting, clay, pandanus leaves, styrofoam, synthetic fabric with sequins, 130 x 110 x 110 mm.

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FIGURE 25
Joan E. Gragg, July 2009, Jonah's struggle, Acrylic paint on palm fronds, 2500 x 1200 mm.

FIGURE 26
Joan E. Gragg, July 2009, Making whale's stomach, Photograph.

To further explore the possibility of the photograph as a final art work, I investigated the idea of a background for the figure of Jonah. I chose to metaphorically use the woven palm frond to represent the whale's stomach. The ridges of the weaving suggested the texture of the stomach lining. The connotations of this type of weaving for making food baskets ironically imply the stomach as a food basket and evoked connotations of place by using the palm frond (Fig.26).

When I separated the palm frond mat (Fig.25) from the cardboard that protected the floor (Fig.29), the inadvertent registration of paint signified the rhetorical nature of Jonah's struggle more clearly than the painting on the mat. I discarded the mat and used the cardboard instead, attaching Jonah directly to this (Fig.27-28).

The resulting photographs demonstrate the differing perspectives. The close and high viewpoint (Fig.28) emphasizes Jonah's terror, whereas the long distance shot with Jonah splayed against the wall and reduced in size provokes a more humorous response (Fig.27). Because of the success of the photograph of Jonah in showing emotion and humour, I further explored the idea of using photographs in the final exhibition. I analysed why the photographs were successful and

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discovered that through photographs, the camera's position ultimately controls the viewer's position.

I experimented with the placement of figures within the picture frame. I learnt that some figures photographed more successfully than others, and I learnt a lot about compositional techniques in photography. More important, I learnt about the quality and the design of the figures themselves. This new information led me back to my earlier decision to work with the figures themselves in the exhibition as opposed to the photographs, as the figures can express humour and place through gesture, placement, and the chosen materials. As Kate Love said, "I think sculpture happens in that space, between the object and the person who is looking at it" (Butt 2005:157). When looking at sculpture, the viewer can choose from which position to view the sculpture. The perspective and chosen space between the person and the sculpture is where the interpretation takes place.

Another reason why I decided to show the figures as sculptures and not as photographs is that some of the materials used are fresh and ephemeral, and thus symbolic of daily life in the tropics and of Cook Islanders. Furthermore, the fragrances of the materials are very much a feature of Nuku, and they

FIGURES 27 & 28
Joan E. Gragg, July 2009, Jonah's struggle, Acrylic paint, cardboard, pandanus leaves, cotton, wicker, clay, plastic, 2500 x 1200 mm.

FIGURE 29
Joan E. Gragg, July 2009, Jonah's struggle 2, Acrylic paint on cardboard, 2500 x 1200 mm.

communicate place. While the ephemeral nature of the materials was a consideration previously in the project, the Nuku is itself an ephemeral event. Moreover, photography limits the perspective from which the figures are seen, whereas the sculptures are placed so that they can be seen from a variety of different viewpoints and distances reflecting the nature of the Nuku pageant experience.

FIGURE 30
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Installation detail. VIP audience in Sunday best Coconut fibre, plastic bottles, pandanus, fresh flowers, electrical wire, coral. 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 31
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Installation detail. Coming to the Nuku or leaving to go home. Clay, moss, designer clothes, woven pandanus, 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 32
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Installation detail. VIP audience in Sunday best. Plastic bottle, seed pod, casuarina needles, coral, woven pandanus, fresh flowers, cotton fabric, rubber, nail polish, 200 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 33
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, The Band in procession with trumpet drum and ukulele. Palm frond, coke can, shell, cotton buds, coral, old sock material, screws, seeds, shell, ice cream carton plastic, fabric, electrical wire. 250 x 250 x 350 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

The research complemented my experience and shed light on how in the Cook Islands, the ability to see the funny side has proven to be a successful way to adapt to cultural changes and new influences.

FIGURE 34
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Coming to the Nuku or leaving to go home, Woven pandanus, electrical wire, construction tie wires, blue strapping, garden watering system tubing, tin foil, seeds, can pull tab, ice-cream carton plastic, sand washed roots. 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 35
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Individual tableau, Dancers in the procession. Palm fronds, moss from coconut trees, pandanus and wire. 250 x250x 350 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 36
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, VIP audience in Sunday best. Woven pandanus, fresh flowers, plastic bottles, coconut fibre, ice cream carton, seeds, sea weed, fabric, wire. 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

FIGURE 37
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Audience waiting for their turn to perform. Woven pandanus, coconut fibre, wire, seeds, fabric, sea weed. 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: Ben Bergman).

CONCLUSION

The project on which this chapter is based, investigated the importance of humour and place, through the context of the 160-year-old Cook Islands religious pageant Nuku, and visually explored ways to represent aspects of humour and place. Cook Islands humour is a product of Cook Islands history, location, and culture. The research complemented my experience and shed light on how in the Cook Islands, the ability to see the funny side has proven to be a successful way to adapt to cultural changes and new influences. The Nuku pageant clearly reflects Cook Islands humour and evokes a sense of place that is distinctively the Cook Islands. The Nuku pageant, in reflecting the various levels of Zen humour, also mirrors aspects of Cook Islands history and development. Metaphorically, Paradise can be seen as pre-Christian Cook Islands; Paradise-lost represents the introduction of Christianity into traditional culture bringing about a sense of duality and disjunction; and Paradise-regained is the state in which there is cohesion and unity through an acceptance and merging of the two cultures, to create a distinctive, modern Cook Islands culture.

The Nuku pageant itself is both a narrative of that progression and a microcosm of Cook Islands culture. Exploring aspects of humour and place through Nuku has made me increasingly aware that the Cook Islands is a multi-cultural society and becoming more so every year. The integration of two traditions, recognition of the consequent incongruities and an acceptance of these incongruities are distinctive features of the Cook Islands today. The freedom to laugh comes from the understanding of this duality. By recognizing the differences and similarities, opportunities abound to laugh and to celebrate with understanding.

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FIGURE 38
Joan E. Gragg, February 2010, Installation detail. Coming to the Nuku or leaving to go home. Clay, moss, designer clothes, woven pandanus, 230 x 600 x 600 mm (photo: the author).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born on Rarotonga, Joan Gragg went to the Side School in Avarua and Tereora College. She won a scholarship to New Plymouth Girls High School, then attended Ardmore Teachers College, Auckland. She taught one year on Rarotonga and eight years in Australia. She worked at the National Film Unit as an accounts clerk, then she and her sister bought and ran a business in Wellington. On her return to Rarotonga, Joan became seriously interested in painting and designing jewellery with Cook Islands pearls and mother of pearl shell. She co-owned and established Beachcomber Ltd, a studio, show room, and boutique that fostered local art and craft. She is self taught in drawing and water colour, and she studied oil painting at The Atelier with Snowdon Hodges in Hawai'i. She completed a Masters of Art and Design (First Class Honors) from Auckland University of Technology in 2010.

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GLOSSARY

akiaki tiare	pick flowers
ariki	high chief
'ei	garland
'ei katu	flower crown
ekalesia	church, parish
koi tita	pick up leaves, or rubbish
kororí parau	pearl-shell oyster meat
mama	grandmother, respected older woman
maromaroa	bored, discontented, gloomy, lonely, melancholy, needing a change of scenery
mokopuna	grandchild
nono	*Morinda citrifolia*
nuku	organized group of people
Nuku	annual religious pageant to celebrate the arrival of Christianity in the Cook Islands on 26 October 1821
orometua	pastor
papa'a	white man or foreigner of European origin
paua	*Tridacna*, clam
pua kakau	wash clothes
rito	coconut fibre
tamataora	give pleasure, entertainment and distraction
uto	young sprouted coconut
DVD	digital video disc
VIP	very important person

Chapter Two

‘URA
DANCES OF THE COOK ISLANDS

Jon Tikivanotau
M. Jonassen

For Māori Cook Islanders, dance is an important expressive movement that conveys and interprets feelings, events, and ideas. Choreography, awareness of space and time, relationships between the past, present, and future, and selected powerful imagery are all incorporated in artistic dance and musical presentations. Although gestures often vary from island to island and tribe to tribe, the expression of joy and the importance of storytelling through body movements remain essentially the same.

The tradition of celebration is integral to Cook Islands Māori cultural identity and was observed by early European explorers. When Lieutenant Gore of *Discovery* and Lieutenant Burney of *Discovery* landed on Atiu Island in 1777, they saw a variety of dances that at times involved up to 200 performers. Performances began at sunset and continued until the day-star appeared in the morning.[1] Presentations were accompanied by music played on ka‘ara (unique sacred wooden gongs) and riro (harmonicon, an early form of harmonica) (Cook 1967:835). E.H. Lamont, a 19th-century shipwreck survivor, portrayed in his memoirs, festivals on Tongareva Island describing the pehu ceremony (1867:143, 178) and the shukai (Tongarevan dance) (p.123-124, 132).

Although Christian missionaries initially tried to curtail festival activities, they ended up being responsible for the development of annual Cook Islands festivals, albeit permeated with Christian themes. The British and New Zealand colonial governments, which followed the missionaries to the Cook Islands, selectively invited tribal elements into their ceremonies. As a result, festival themes and costumes continued to change — although the constant presence of traditional leaders and tribal clans maintained the sense of revelry.

Nowadays, festivals are seen as opportunities to publicly chronicle tribal cultural values and knowledge, oral histories, and land titles, and as ways for communities to achieve status. This attitude extends to modern national and international cultural events.

[1] Anderson’s Journal, April 1777 records “twenty young women ornamented (as the chiefs) with red feathers, engaged in a dance which they performed to a slow and serious air sung by them all. . . They seem’d to be directed by a man who serv’d as prompter and mention’d each motion they were to make but they never mov’d from the spot as we do in dancing & though they made some motion with their feet, this exercise consisted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the same time holding the hands in a prone position near the face, which they also clapped together now & then. Their motions and songs were made in such exact concert that it would seem they had been taught with great care to perform each. . . ” (in Cook 1967:835).

DANCE TERMS AND FORMS

Reflecting village and island differences, the Cook Islands have several terms for dance and a variety of dance forms. The general term for dance in Rarotonga is ‘ura, in Aitutaki the term is koni, in Atiu ori, and in Manihiki hupahupa. The dance instructors or dance specialists are known as tumu ‘ura or ta‘unga ‘ura (ta‘unga koni, ta‘unga ori, ta‘unga hupahupa). The lead dancers in a performance are matā ‘ura, and they are normally the best and most experienced dancers, who are often positioned in the front row and are relied on for solo performances. “E to‘e paruparu” (a soft backside) is a phrase acknowledging such an “outstanding female dancer” (Jonassen 2005:48).

The multitude of dance forms includes the ‘ura pa‘u (drum dance, the most famous of the many Cook Islands expressive arts), ‘ura pa‘ata (platform dance), ‘ura tati‘ae‘ae (tease dance), ‘ura tamataora (dance for entertainment), ‘ura tāmātakutaku (dance to scare), ‘ura kanga (playful dance), ‘ura ‘ipo or ‘ura ‘aka‘inangaro (love dance), ‘ura takapuni / ‘ura piani (circular or impromptu dance), ‘ura kōpū (stomach dance), ‘ura penu (dance accompanied by a tool), ‘ura pi‘a (box dance), koni rore (stilt dance), ‘ura tōpī (top dance), ‘ura pua (wooden disc dance), ‘ura a‘i (fire dance), ‘ura rama (torch dance), ‘ura iti akari (coconut teeth husking dance), aka or haka (dance accompanying the men’s war chant), ‘ura akamorimori (dance to worship) or ‘ura akapa‘apa‘a (dance to praise), ‘ura peu tupuna (dance based on legend), ‘ura kaparima (action song), and tribally linked dances, such as the shukai. Furthermore, people create dances specifically for the Nuku (see subsection below; see also Gragg, this volume).

The dances might also complement a particular stage and musical approach, emphasizing pe‘e (chants), amu (melodious chants), imene tuki (traditional hymns), ‘ūtē (melodious chants), imene kaparima, kama‘atu (words of wisdom), piri (puzzles), akatūtū (choreography), or tangi ka‘ara (drum orchestration). Some of these dance forms appear as critical parts of national or village level festivals. ‘Ura means dance. Often used as a name for a man or woman, “it symbolizes talent, harmony and confidence”[2] (Jonassen 2003:134). Rarotongan men and women of all ages perform ‘ura. For the women, ‘ura can be described as

[2] Outstanding or well-known female dancers from the 1960s to 2014 include Jonassen Sisters Anne, Dora, Lily, and Muriel (Rarotonga-Aitutaki, Betela Dance Troupe with world-wide tours and TV shows); Frisbie sisters Elaine, Nga, and Johnny (Pukapuka, Pukapuka Otea Show in Hawai‘i); Diya Nicholas-Taripo (Rarotonga-Mangaia-Aitutaki, Betela Dance Troupe, and Eitiare Dance Team recordings), Pauline Tangi (Manihiki, Betela Dance Troupe), Clara Te Tupu (Atiu, Betela Dance Troupe and Te Puna Korero Dance Team China tour), Kavana sisters Ngaire and Doreen (Rarotonga-Aitutaki, Tavana Show in Hawai‘i), Tutai O Tekii Tepa (Rarotonga, Betela Dance Troupe and Tumu Te Varovaro Dance Team hotel shows), Vaine Turepu (Rarotonga, Betela Dance Team and Ta’akoka Dance Team), Mamia Tunui Savage (Aitutaki, Cook Islands National Arts Theatre, Te Ivi Māori Dance, and Tupapa Marairenga Dance Team, and national dance champion), Peka Munukoa (Manihiki-Rakahanga, Cook Islands National Arts Theatre, Te Ivi Māori, and national dance champion), Georgina Keenan (Rarotonga, Taakoka Dance Team, Orama Dance Team, and national dance champion), Makitua Toka (Aitutaki, national dance champion), Taina White (Rarotonga, Eitiare Dance Team, and Mapuapua Dance Team), Jeanine Tuavera (Rarotonga, national dance champion), Kimiora Vogel (Rarotonga, national dance champion), and Melody Tiavau Jonassen (Rarotonga-Aitutaki, Eitiare Dance Team, Polynesian Culture Center, Keiki Hula Competition in Hawai‘i, Disneyland Japan, Disney World Florida, and Mou Piri documentary).

FIGURE 1
Koni rore (stilt dance) by the Betela Youth Club Dance Team: (left row from front) Mata Anthony, Mangu Eraio, Maui Miri, Mataroa Mataroa (right row from front) Tumupu Tumupu, Tere Kavakura, Tamaka Tamanui, and Charlie Mare. Maruaiai Hall, Rarotonga, 1964. In this particular performance, the stilt dance is performed with the box dance as one stage presentation (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

a graceful distinct movement of the hips swaying from side to side, while keeping the knees bent together.[3] They keep their shoulders steady and body upright, while their eyes, lips, and facial expressions echo the narrative being enacted. Their hands and arms are in constant motion, symbolizing various aspects of the story. ʻUra style is the theme of the song *My Vahine*,[4] which describes a technique in ʻura, and many cultural dancing teams often perform it as a kaparima.[5]

My Vahine
My vahine shakes the hips, in the Rarotongan way.
With a smile on her lips, she can make you want to stay.
Every movement of her hands has a meaning from her heart.
She has love in her eyes, when she does it just for you.
She says keep your feet together. Bend your knees remember, and follow me.
It's easy: try not to move your shoulders. Keep your eyes on your hands and just follow me.
Shake it left and shake it right, what a beauty, what a sight.

Taku Vaʻine
Tākiri te toʻe o taku vaʻinē, e peu ʻura Rarōtōngā.
Katakatā tōna vaʻā, Mīʻi rai koe kia noʻo mai.
E aiteʻanga tāna kapā, No tōna manavā.
E mata mou inangarō, Me ʻura mai aiā noʻoū.
Teia tōna reo, ʻakapiri to nga vaevaē. Kia piko to ngā tūrī, āru maī iākū.
Māmā ua, eiaʻa e tipa to pokoīvi. Akatau to mata ki to rīmā, Aru mai iākū.
Tuki kauī, tuki kataū, manea, E mea ūmērē.

The Rarotongan men's ʻura has unique variations in hand and body motions, and men often swing their hips slightly while maintaining the inward-moving scissors motions of their knees. The koni of Aitutaki is similar to the ʻura of Rarotonga, but it has a few distinct features. Aitutaki women are known to sometimes spread their knees slightly apart to present a freer, aggressive style. Similarly, men dancers of Aitutaki add a dynamic alternate jumping and a sideways kicking technique.[6]

The ori of Atiu is generally closer to the Aitutaki women's koni style, than to the Rarotonga ʻura. However, male dancers of Atiu tend to move in a manner more similar to that of Rarotonga.[7] Overall, Atiu dancing is distinct, with chanting often playing a dominant role. The Atiu people's cultural dances influence those of Maʻuke and Mitiaro peoples, although the latter have some unique elements in style and costuming. The Maʻuke people's affinity to more expressive songs often results in secret sexually symbolic story lines, that additionally free up their dancing styles. Maʻuke kaparima are known for their powerful and graceful presentations.[8]

The hupahupa dance style of Manihiki and sister-island Rakahanga in the Northern Group is unique in its subtleties and distinct opening movements for both male and female dancers. Their drum dances accentuate precision and fitness and the action songs project beauty and the spectrum of human emotions. Costumes are beautiful and refined using pearl shells and finely woven, specially prepared pandanus or coconut leaves. Manihikians increase emphasis on body and facial movements, and Pukapukans give them yet more prominence.

Pukapuka male dancing is distinct with emphatic hand motions, expressive but defined facial interaction, and a tendency to tell a story through dance in an unusual or unexpected way. Women usually reflect the men's actions with a more subtle and gentle version. Humour is very much a part of the normal Pukapuka presentation. Pukapuka ʻura paʻu, ʻura kaparima, or peu tupuna performances always please Cook Islands crowds.

[3] In dance training sessions 1950s to 2014, constant comments from Māori dance instructors and mamas assisting were, "Kapiti ia to nga vaevae" (Keep your feet together), "Amingi te turi" (Bend the knees), "ʻUra kia paru kite kaui, kite katau" (Sway your hips from side to side), "Akara to mata ki to rima" (Keep your eyes on your hands), and "Katakata" (Smile).

[4] My Vahine lyrics and music composed by Jon M. Jonassen. First recorded by Eitiare Entertainers in 1976 (Cooks Tour, Marino Recordings MC003) and popularized by Apiti Nicholas (Apiti 1984, Studio Oʻ Tahiti TO45). Recorded also by various artists in French Polynesia, Australia, and New Zealand.

[5] Betela Dance Troupe, Rarotonga Nui Dance Team, Eitiare Dance Team, Tiare Māori Dance Team, and others.

[6] Exceptional Cook Islands Māori male dancers from the 1960s to 2015 include Papa Teio George (Aitutaki), Papa George Karoponga (Manihiki, Rakahanga), Ben Ellis (Manihiki), Tunui Tereu (Aitutaki), Ota Joseph (Aitutaki), Ngarima George (Manihiki), Daniel Apii (Manihiki), Ina Teiotu (Atiu), Tumupu Tumupu (Atiu, Rarotonga), Papatua Papatua (Mangaia, Rarotonga), Maʻurangi Raina (Rarotonga), Kaʻu Pupa (Rarotonga), Makī Karati (Maʻuke), Stephen Kavana (Rarotonga), Tumutoa Nichols (Aitutaki), Piritau Nga, Teariki Mateariki (Rarotonga), Taʻoro Strickland (Rarotonga), Tairi Paulo (Aitutaki) and Matthew Pierre (Rarotonga). Each had a dancing style different, particularly, in subtleties and overall choreography.

[7] Atiuʻs history weaves between Aitutaki (warriors from whom it has fought major wars over Manuae), and Rarotonga, Mitiaro and Maʻuke, where it has often sent warriors or raiding parties.

[8] The great Maʻuke composer Mapu Taia once described it to this author as a performance from an inner self.

FIGURE 2
ʻUra Paʻu, Betela Youth Club Dance Team performing in the Maruaiai Hall (front row L-R): Dora Jonassen, Tumupu Tumupu, and Anne Jonassen, Rarotonga, 1964 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

ʻUra paʻu (drum dance)
The ʻura paʻu has many variations ranging from all male, all female, or mixed male and female dancers. Male and female dancers make their facial expression, hands, hips, and leg movements follow the beats of a variety of drums played individually or together (Jonassen 1993:56). The leading wooden gong instrument (tōkere, pātē, ove, or koriro) direct the hands, feet, or facial movements of the dancer while the skin bass drum (pahu) guide the movements of the hips and knees. Drum dances capture stories of everyday life and were traditionally performed in ceremonies and festivals where the kaʻara beats often mixed with chanting and dancers' controlled motions (Jonassen 1993:57).

Typical kapa (body actions) in ʻura paʻu involved every moveable part of the body although most of the storytelling focus is on hand movements and facial expressions. Traditionally, a classical lineup of dancers in a drum dance showed sets of pairs. For example, six lines had three lines of men and three lines of women, alternating or in an arrangement meaningful to the story being related.

In most group-choreographed arrangements, the front row dancers would be considered the most outstanding, most attractive, or most knowledgeable about the dance, or, the daughter of someone important (such as the chief). Each line would be emulating exactly the same dance movement. That form of lineup has changed in recent years, initially influenced by the Betela Dance Troupe (see later discussion). One moving line of dancers, creating different combinations throughout the presentation has become the norm. The overall actions have not changed as much as the staging. All motions tell a story and the interacting performers highlight the intensity of emotions. An ʻura paʻu

sometimes incorporates chants, songs, and hymns, but the basic backing music is drums. There is constant communication between the drummers and the dancers. A mistake by the drummers can mean disaster for the dancers and the overall presentation.

'Ura pa'ata (platform dance)

'Ura pa'ata is an explicit drum dance performed on platforms that are usually built at two height levels. Traditional costumes and leaves are replaced with white shirts and long black pants for men, and white mu'umu'u (Mother Hubbards or long dresses) for women. Popular in the 1800s, the 'ura pa'ata dance involved some twenty performers in at least four lines. Typical kapa in 'ura pa'ata involve dancers moving up and down different levels or rotating on the same level. Expressive motions are presented between the performers and toward the audience.

'Ura tati'ae'ae (tease dance)

'Ura tati'ae'ae has three movements: teasing to anger, to create fun or to highlight comedy, and to entice. The dance form reflects the dancer's own individuality or village; thus, it is not uniform. Dancers can perform it at any time, with or without musical accompaniment (Jonassen 1993:57). Typical kapa in 'ura tati'ae'ae include visible symbolic gestures that identify with the focal point of the teasing. For example in Penrhyn, lady A wears a new dress to church. The following Sunday, lady E wears a new dress but she puts a patch of lady A's material design on the back of her dress, in an area of backside that symbolizes how she feels about lady A, and lady E moves subtly in dance-like gestures that highlight her regal stature but lowers the status of lady A. No words are spoken, but the teasing will likely elevate the following Sunday.[9] Another example, team A scores a try in a village level sports competition. One of team A's strong supporters jumps up and dances in exhilaration occasionally showing his or her backside during the dance, clearly aimed at teasing the losing opposition. The individual might also be part of a performing group intending to display his or her talents with a display of 'ura tamataora (see below) and so seizes the initiative to take the centre stage and add some new moves into the group presentation. It could deteriorate from a 'ura tamataora, to a 'ura tati'ae'ae. The movements and the ongoing reactions of the crowd will determine whether a person is teasing to anger or teasing for fun.

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[9] Personal communication from the author's mother, who resided in Penrhyn for several months operating a movie theatre business on the island.

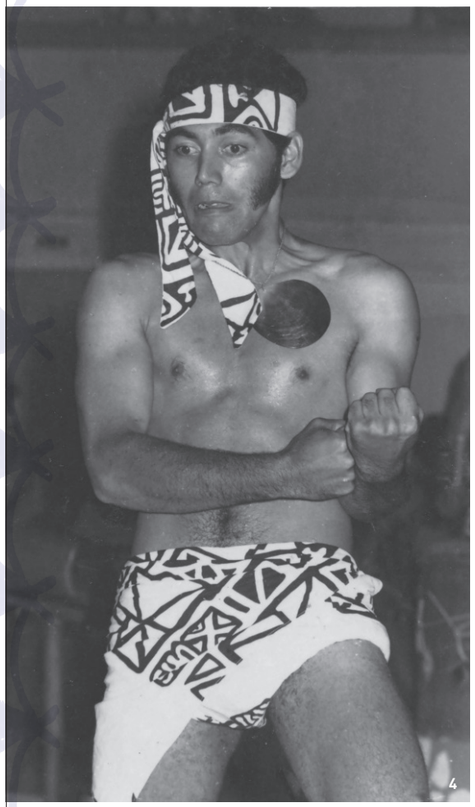
[10] In the 1960s, Ka'u Pupa from Arorangi village established a reputation for effectively performing this difficult but crowd-pleasing type of dance at community youth club dances around Rarotonga.

[11] The dance was created from common strike and block fighting techniques found in two cultures: Cook Islands Māori and Japanese. Presented in dance format, it is accompanied by Cook Islands pahu and pa'u mangō musical beats. The dance is an unexpected intervention to continue the flow of the show: a performance intended to impress and entertain while practically giving other dance performers adequate time to change costume for the next part of an unprecedented 6-member, non-stop, one-hour show of live music and dance.

FIGURE 3
An example of 'ura tati'ae'ae: one performer in the team presentation is about to incorporate into his actions a shocking revealing gesture not in the normal routine but he obviously intends to tease. Dance group unidentified, Rarotonga, circa 2009 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen).

FIGURE 4
Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen incorporated Asian martial arts movements into traditional warrior actions, creating a kātā, an 'ura tamataora for a one-time performance. Dance motions are made up of attacking and defensive movements. Maruaiai Hall, Rarotonga, 1970[10] (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen).

FIGURE 5
The six-man dancing team that entertained a packed audience with a well received non-stop one-hour culture performance, Maruaiai Danceland, 1970: (back row L-R) Teina Lily Jonassen (née Napa) – group sponsor and group 'Mama'; Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – choreographer, staging, drummer, musician singer, fire dancer, and kātā performer; Anne Tiavaru Jonassen – choreographer, costume designer, staging, dancer, soloist, and singer; Teinakore Tuakeu – choreographer, drummer, musician, singer, and fire walker; (front row kneeling L-R) Lily Ariki Jonassen – choreographer, costume designer, dancer, singer, and drummer; Mataio Nielson – drummer, musician, singer, and dancer; and Muriel Matakavau Jonassen – choreographer, dancer, and singer (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen).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'Ura tamataora (dance for entertainment)

'Ura tamataora is a general description for any dance that is intended to entertain and make people happy. It can also be a specific category of dance that falls under the description of humourous impromptu dances: performances that are carefree reactions to an event or an open emotional stage display. The performer takes the centre stage invariably without invitation and uses his or her body to express feelings and responses. It can be performed alone or with others in an informal entertaining situation (Jonassen 1993:57). A typical kapa in 'ura tamataora begins with an exhilarating happy shout to attract attention and to set the mood, followed by abrupt hand waving and awkward foot motions. Another approach emerges with the dancer running quickly and openly onto the stage, touching another dancer (usually of the opposite sex) already on stage, shaking the whole body as though receiving a recharging but positive shock treatment,[11] and then exhibiting impressive dance techniques. In general, the underlining elements involve the introduction of movements that are unexpected, impactive, and impressive. 'Ura tamataora can incorporate any movement that is entertaining without crossing the boundaries of appropriate behavior. And appropriate behavior is being respectful of your partners. Any music can be utilized in this form of dance (Jonassen 1993:57).

'Ura kanga (playful dance)
Similar to 'ura tamataora, 'ura kanga differs in that it is easily recognizable as a nonsense type of dance (Jonassen 1993:57). There is no malicious intent or teasing theme in the performance, and the focus is more inward and seemingly self-centred. Dancers often perform without musical accompaniment at sports or parade events. There are no set movements, and the routine is an impromptu reaction to an event or an impressive play on the field, and often perceived as an effort to rally supporters. In many cases, an individual performer within a practised performance detracts from the arrangement and adds his or her, own reactions.

'Ura tāmātakutaku (dance to scare)
'Ura tāmātakutaku is classically performed solo, accompanied by vocal chants, and communicates a message of disciplinary action as part of story dramatization. The dance imitates animals, fish, insects, and ghosts (Jonassen 1993:57). Typical kapa in 'ura tāmātakutaku, highlight facial expressions and motions that mimic particular fauna. The actions are intended to frighten or create a mysterious haunting feeling in the audience. Costuming includes use of facial paint often from charcoal, and the movements are periodically unpredictable. For example, to dramatize legendary stories of the goddess Ta'akura, the dancer representing Ta'akura wears a scary costume and her dance motions are threatening and surefooted (Jonassen 1993:57).

'Ura 'ipo or 'ura 'aka'inangaro (love dance)
'Ura 'ipo or 'ura 'aka'inangaro was an important dance in the pre-Christian era performed in the 'are karioi (or 'are kariei, house of entertainment). Movements are graceful and enticing between a male dancer and a female dancer. Usually, the dancers do not physically touch each other until the end of the dance. Musical accompaniment varies but pahu and pa'u mangō (skin drumbeats) accompanying ka'ara are traditionally the preferred background sound in sacred dances, including the love dance as part of a sacred activity. The advent of Christianity dampened love dances, but they have reemerged in recent years with more creativity in dance and expressive moves. Sometimes referred to as 'ura or koni akaau (dance to engage), they incorporate protocols for securing a bride and leading to the wedding itself. In its modern form, there are no typical kapa. The guiding principle is in the story itself. Aspects of 'ura 'ipo or 'ura 'aka'inangaro sometimes emerge during a 'ura takapuni.

'Ura takapuni / 'ura piani (circular or impromptu dance)
'Ura takapuni or 'ura piani[12] is a popular impromptu performance usually with drumbeats and chanting. A male dancer and female dancer are introduced immediately prior to the dance. Often, subtle sexual connotations occur throughout the performance (Jonassen 1993:57). No typical kapa are associated with 'ura takapuni or 'ura piani, except the formation of the line is typically in a full circle or a semi-circle facing the main audience. Dancers perform free style, moving any part of the body when the music begins, and stopping when the music ends.

In 'ura takapuni, the designated stage performers typically mingle in the audience to identify and invite a dance partner from the audience to join them on stage. Refusing to accept such a honourable invitation is considered rude. A century-old popular chant utilized for this dance invitation begins its chant, "Aere mai te va'ine ki roto, teia te kingi e tu nei"[13] ("Tiki Patana" in McDiarmid 2007). Alternatively, people are openly invited to join the group on stage. Each designated performer is thereafter invited onto the stage with their partner from the audience to display their talents. There are no set moves and generally no boundaries except that all performers keep their displays morally acceptable to the audience and the dance partner.

[12] The dance is also called 'ura piani or harmonica dance because in the earlier post European contact era, the mouth-organ or harmonica (piani) was used as part of the music for the dancers in 'ura takapuni.

FIGURE 6
'Ura kanga, a man wearing a dive suit represents pearl diving in the Northern Group performs with playful gestures in a Constitution Day Parade, Avarua, Rarotonga, 2008 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 7
'Ura tāmātakutaku – costume, body colour and facial features are incorporated in a powerful Vaka Puaikura pe'e (chant) intended to give warning and to threaten, Rarotonga, 2003 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

'Ura kōpū (stomach dance)
'Ura kōpū is a unique Cook Islands Māori dance, which involves "the undulation of the stomach muscles in continuous motion" (Jonassen 1993:58). Few Cook Islanders can perform this dance. This usually solo dance highlights stature, poise, strength, beauty, and humour in motion. Typical kapa in 'ura kōpū demonstrate control of the stomach muscles and the ability to roll the stomach forward, backward, inward, and outward in response to music, which can be drumbeats, chanting, or song.

[13] Translated, it can mean, "Let the woman in, the king is ready," or "Come in woman, the main prize is waiting."

[14] John Taylor is a BYUH Travel Management professor and former missionary to Cook Islands.

[15] Advisers to the Cook Islands Club included Professor Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Raewyn and Colin Shelford, Patoa Benioni, Teina Ngatikaura, and Tina Akanoa.

FIGURE 8
Sir Geoffrey Henry, Cook Islands Prime Minister (PM), responding to the 'ura takapuni by the Cook Islands Club at Brigham Young University Hawai'i (BYUH) during a luncheon hosted for the PM by the University and the Club. On stage (L-R): Melody Jonassen, Sir Geoffrey, and Tia Marau-Roos (Turepu family), Aloha Center, Laie, Hawai'i, 1995, (Photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 9
Sir Terepai Maoate, Cook Islands Prime Minister (PM), responding to the 'ura takapuni by the Cook Islands Club at BYUH, during a luncheon for the PM by the University and the Cook Islands Club, 2001. On stage (L-R): Katai Mariterangi (née Matapo), John Taylor[14] (in centre background, master of ceremony and Cook Islands club faculty adviser[15]), and Sir Terepai, Laie, Hawai'i (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 10
'Ura takapuni, by Betela Dance Troupe dancers, (L-R): Muriel Jonassen, Japanese guest (invited from audience), Anne Jonassen, Namegawa Island stage, Japan, 1971 (Jon T.M. Jonassen family photo collection).

'Ura penu (dance accompanied by a tool)
'Ura penu is a group dance, which highlights a weapon, tool, or household utensil and is performed by men and women. While such dances are very much a part of the traditional dance history of Cook Islands Māori people, the term penu was recently incorporated by Kauraka Kauraka from the Northern Group: which translated means "object" (Jonassen 1993:59). Typical kapa in 'ura penu, mimic the use of utensils. Such specialized dances are many, and the following incomplete listing merely indicates the rich array of cultural dances in Cook Islands Māori traditions.

Koni pi'a (box dance)
Koni pi'a or 'ura pi'a uses boxes that are about 15 inches in length, 12 inches wide, and 10 inches high. The pi'a or box substitutes sitting stools, which would have been used before European contact. Koni pi'a are usually associated with Aitutaki. Men use a box as a prop to demonstrate their individual balance, prowess, and fitness through quick exercise movements (Jonassen 1993:59). Drumbeats accompany the dance and typical kapa in koni pi'a, including stepping or jumping on and off the box, alternating feet stances, touching the box while kicking the feet in the air stretched to maximum heights, and circling the box in fast successive balanced steps.

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FIGURE 11
Puaikura Vaka performers on stage utilizing tattoo utensils and tattoo application as part of their dance, Rarotonga, 2003 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 12
Koni pi'a by the Betela Youth Club Dance Team (L-R): Mata Anthony, Mangu Eraio, Maui Miri, Mataroa Mataroa. (Right row from front) Tumupu Tumupu, Tere Kavakura (unseen), Tamaka Tamanui (unseen), and Charlie Mare (unseen), Rarotonga, 1964 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 13
Betela Dance Troupe members Ota Tuaeu and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen performing the koni pi'a or 'ura pi'a, at the Maruaiai Hall, 1971 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

Koni rore (stilt dance)
Koni rore or 'ura rore is a specialized dance associated with Aitutaki (Jonassen 1993:59). Typical kapa in koni rore reflect dancer agility, focus, fitness, and balance. Male dancers walk forward, backward, and sideways on stilts, or they slant the stilts sideways while swinging the hands in rhythmic patterns across the body. They tap the stilts at the top or bottom end, or swing one in midair while hopping on the other. All of the dancers move together in precision while maintaining their lines. Koni rore is a challenging item with dancers potentially losing their balance and falling.

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[16] Accidents linked to spinning tops increasingly discouraged support from local leaders, especially when the nail (the spinning point) posed a real danger to the eyes of players and bystanders. Top fighting required one player to place his top on the competing top while both are spinning, often resulted in the challenging player's top back-firing into the air and landing on people.

FIGURES 14 & 15
Ota Tuaeu and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen performing the koni rore (stilt dance) (left) in front of a large home audience crowd, Titikaveka Kent Hall, Rarotonga, 1971 and (right) at Namegawa Island, Japan, 1971 (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

'Ura tōpī (top dance)

Large spinning tops were once common in the Cook Islands, and entire villages helped to spin tops in this dance form. Spinning tops were dangerous[16] and resulted in the decline of the associated dance form (Jonassen 1993:60). It was generally believed that the spirit of the top needed encouragement to ensure that it had a better chance of beating the opposing tops. An array of dances might have included a mix with 'ura kanga and 'ura tāmātakutaku. Typical kapa in 'ura tōpī enhance the spin of the top using circular body motions and symbolic hand and feet gestures. The performance begins any time after initiating the spin and ends soon after the spin stops. The dancer remains close to the spinning top. There is no set accompanying music, but one or more voices usually recite an accompanying chant.

'Ura pua (wooden disc dance)

'Ura pua is similar to the 'ura tōpī. The objective of the 'ura pua is to work in close motion with the disc and to assist in prolonging its spin. Various body motions are utilized without touching the pua (Jonassen 1993:60). Typical kapa in 'ura pua include hand, circular, and leg kicking gestures, as well as flips and dramatic start-stop motions. The pua is typically used in game competitions, and chants and dancing accompanied the throwing and action of the pua. Pua, often made from hard mahogany, can be an effective weapon. An expert thrower can throw the heavy disc to bounce upward into a targeted area.

'Ura a'i (fire dance)

Fire often appeared in Cook Islands chants and legends (Jonassen 1981:27-29, 38-41). Use of fire in various forms has included torch spinning, fire walking, and throwing fire in the air. Presentation techniques used dried coconut leaves (rau niu e te rōrō) and bamboo torches. 'Ura a'i reemerged in Cook Islands culture beginning in the 1960s (Jonassen 1993:61): fire presentations in Betela Dance Team stage shows included torches to mark out a stage area among a crowded audience accompanied by the sound of the pu (conch shell), ka'ara, pa'u (bass drum), and pa'u mangō (shark skin drum). It also included a fire walk display in a box filled with sand and petrol and a dancer attired in rau ti costume, walking in and out of the fire in mesmerized sequence with a specific drum beat. Reintroduced by Teinakore Tuakeu, the performance usually began with a preparatory trance-like drum sequence. It replicated on stage what would have occurred on Marae Avarua in pre-Christian times. Such a sacred ceremony with an open fire walk took place at Taputapuatea Marae on Rarotonga during the 1992 Festival of Pacific Arts hosted by the Cook Islands.

Timoteao Timoteao[17] reintroduced the spinning of fire, attached to two ends of a roughly 3-foot stick, in public presentations in Betela's tour of New Zealand in 1969. Other Cook Islanders later emerged as prominent fire dance performers, including Richard Davy Itu,[18] Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen,[19] Ian Karika,[20] Mr Quarter,[21] Mii Tekopua, Andrew Andrew,[22] and others. Often described as a Samoan fire dance[23] or Polynesian fire dance, its modern development has strong elements from Samoa, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands, and it is more entertaining in form than when it once formed part of sacred ceremonies. The Cook Islands fire dance is accompanied by particular drumbeats composed for that purpose, usually beginning slowly and picking up in tempo toward the end. The fire dancer uses one fire stick (or knife) or two fire sticks. The very skilled dancers can perform with three or four fire sticks, adding juggling and stance techniques into the mix. The roughly ten standard spin techniques can be described as various stages in the Māori legendary story of the great ancestor Maui, who captured the sun in order to slow it down (see appendix 1).

[17] Timoteao joined Betela Dance Team as a fire dancer in the groups' 1969 New Zealand tour. He made several performances throughout New Zealand with the group but did not join the team for onward tours.

[18] Richard performed for many years in Tahiti and in Japan (as a member of Maeva Tahiti) before returning to his home island of Aitutaki.

[19] See Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen's training routine in appendix 1 and fire presentation routine in appendix 2. Jon began fire dance in 1971 and took advanced martial arts training to improve and develop his fire dance techniques. He performed fire dance in the Cook Islands, New Zealand, Japan, Nauru, Fiji, French Polynesia, and Hong Kong. He retired from dancing in 1978 to return to university studies. He has since returned to his home island of Rarotonga.

[20] Ian performed in New Zealand in various groups and toured Japan as a fire dancer in Shiobara. He now resides on his home island of Rarotonga.

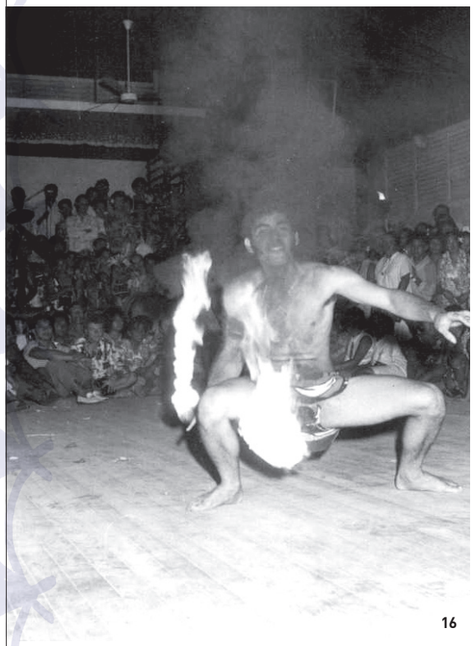
[21] Mr Quarter performed in New Zealand, Australia, and Japan for several years and was a key member of the Royal Polynesians.

[22] Andrew performed fire dance with Rarotonga Nui Dance Team in Japan for several years. He lives in Australia.

[23] Samoan fire dancing apparently began in California in the 1950s and was rapidly popularized by various groups in Polynesian shows in Hawai'i and along the east coast of the United States. The Polynesian Cultural Center emerged in Hawai'i during the early 1960s, featuring Samoan fire dancers and Samoan fire-walkers playing with empty but thick cotton empty sacks soaked with gasoline. The basic circle 0 and figure 8 techniques were developed into a fine art at that time (personal interview with American Samoan fire dancer Malo, after his dynamic performance in the Tavana show, Waikiki, Hawai'i, 1971).

[24] In 1973, with his martial arts training, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen developed a technique using the shoulders in rapid succession at various angles to create a fire flower image. This photo was taken at 1/50th of a second exposure.

[25] Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen trained for 13 years in various styles of karate (especially Shitoryu, Keishinkan, and Shindokai); six of those years of training were in various Japanese dojo in Tokyo and Chiba.



16

17

18

FIGURE 16
Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen fire dance (with one fire knife) in Maruaiai, Rarotonga, 1970. This technique requires a prayer (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 17
Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen performing fire dance (with two fire knives) in Namegawa Island, Japan, 1971. This particular technique involves flipping forward to land on the head and then sliding along the stage floor backward while twirling two sets of fires, Namegawa Island (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family photo collection).

FIGURE 18
Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen fire dance (with two fire knives) in Japan, 1973.[24] This particular technique requires shifting both shoulders and arm muscles at various angles in rapid succession while creating slanted double reverse figure 8 wrist twists and turns. Jon developed this refined technique after taking advanced martial arts training in Japan[25] (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

'Ura rama (torch dance)
Performers used dry coconut leaves[26] in ceremonies. 'Ura rama has evolved into an entertaining dance, in which performers use bamboo lit torches or coconut shells containing candles. Accompanied by drumbeats, chants, and songs, dancers control their movements according to the flame (Jonassen 1993:61). Typical kapa in 'ura rama include stretched hands outward and inward in the front and on the side of the body. The dancer lifts and lowers the rama or torch in alternating movements. The body is ideally in motion throughout all the actions: motion is more effective and increases safety for the dancers because a fire not concentrated at a given point is less likely to cause burns.

'Ura ta'iri'iri (fan dance)
The 'ura ta'iri'iri, generally a graceful dance, utilizes the fan in various motions that enhance the story being told. It is very similar to the hat dance,[27] which is not discussed in any detail in this chapter. The fan symbolizes peace and plays a significant role in title investitures in Cook Islands Māori culture. Ta'iri'iri are significant in dance, not only to indicate heat, but also anger. Women usually perform the 'ura ta'iri'iri, accompanied by drum beats (Jonassen 1993:59). Typical kapa in 'ura ta'iri'iri concentrate on the upper body and emphasize sweeping motions and clear physical expressions that underscore the beat. Dancers treat the fan with respect throughout the performance.

'Ura iti 'akari (coconut teeth husking dance)
The 'ura iti akari involves at least one performer husking a dry coconut with his or her teeth while dancing across the stage. Hand motions highlight the coconut and the teeth gripping the coconut husk and tearing it off in segments. Lower body movements show grace and finesse. The dance is usually accompanied by drumbeats that increase in tempo as the coconut is husked, culminating with the cracking of the coconut in half with a rock but often using either the performers elbows or head. Sometimes, the coconut white meat is then grated on stage (with a grater) and the milk squeezed through clean husk fibres from the grated coconut onto a supporting female dancer's hair. This specialized dance presentation emerged from the islands of Manihiki, Rakahanga, Pukapuka, and Tongareva, where the coconut tree is acknowledged widely as the tree of life.

[26] Bunched and tied kikau marō or dry coconut leaves, and rōrō marō or a "sheath enclosing spadix of a coconut palm" (Buse & Taringa 1995:400) were used for the fire.

[27] For more than 10 years, the Betela Dance Troupe performed Pare Kapakapa, a hat dance that acknowledged the various uses of the hat. Performed by women, the item was accompanied by song, chant, and drum beats.

[28] During a particular 1987 Rarotonga Nui Dance Team performance in New Caledonia when this author was working at the South Pacific Commission in Noumea (capital of New Caledonia), Araipu's male team members, who were somewhat tired of her popularity and wanted to play a trick, secretly rubbed red hot chili pepper on the coconut that Araipu was planning to husk on stage. Expecting that it would slow down the performance, Araipu actually increased the pace of husking much to the surprise of the boys and the delight of everyone else. Araipu was an exceptional dancer.

[29] Composed by Michael W. Jonassen and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, based on traditional poetic phrases. Performed by Betela Dance Troupe 1971 to 1979. Performed also by Rarotonga Nui Dance Team and Eitiare Dance Team.

Survival often depended on an ability to husk a coconut with few tools. Araipu Pukerua with the stage name of "Wonderwoman" is the best known modern exponent of this Cook Islands Māori dance. In the 1980s to 1990s, she travelled across the Pacific performing with Cook Islands tourism promotionsal teams, Taakoka Dance Team, Rarotonga Nui Dance Team,[28] and a special 3-person team that performed at the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawai'i. She appeared in some television shows.

Aka or haka (dance accompanying the men's war chant)
Aka or more commonly known as haka involves strong, unified, war-like leg and hand actions. Accompanied by chanting and ka'ara drum, the haka figures prominently in Cook Islands traditional dance form (Jonassen 1993:61). The ancient war-like Māori action typified warriors' preparedness. Betela Dance Troupe incorporated the haka in most of its stage performances over a span of 20 years. Two haka in particular proved popular among audiences: *Ketaketa Te Uaua* and *Tangaroa Haka*. Men always performed haka, confronting the audience with fierce chanting, expressive words, animated eye popping, tongue teasing, feet stomping, and challenging hand gestures. Chanting is constant, and usually, no musical instrument accompanies the dance. In the 1992 Festival of Pacific Arts hosted by the Cook Islands, the Pukapuka community living on Rarotonga responded to the New Zealand Māori haka with a traditional Pukapukan haka. The dynamic exhilarating event, labelled the *Battle of the Haka*, highlighted the strong connection between the Māori people of the Cook Islands and their younger Māori brothers in New Zealand.

"The ancient war-like Māori action typified warriors' preparedness. Betela Dance Troupe incorporated the haka in most of its stage performances over a span of 20 years."

FIGURE 19
Betela Dance Troupe performing 'ura rama (L-R): Nooroa Tekeu Iro, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Muriel Jonassen, and Cathy Utia, Namegawa, 1975 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 20
Betela Dance Troupe men performing Ketaketa haka[29] (L-R): Mataio Nielson, Marorangi Pita Monga, Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen, Namegawa Island, 1972 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 21
Betela Dance troupe men performing Tangaroa haka (L-R): Andrew Andrew, Pua Tetava, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Rave Pitomaki, Maurangi Raina, Namegawa Island, 1975 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

'Ura akamorimori (dance to worship) or 'ura akapa'apa'a (dance to praise)
'Ura akamorimori[30] or 'ura akapa'apa'a are highly religious movements, accompanied by song. Traditionally, dancers projected their movements towards traditional gods, now they do so toward modern fundamentalist Christian churches. Facial and hand movements dominate the dances, with minimal hip movements and limited contact between male and female performers (Jonassen 1993:61). The 'ura akamori are basically spiritual responses to faith based feelings and are humble and excited expressions of love and appreciation. Dance movements are ideally restrained but openly expressive.

'Ura peu tupuna (dance based on legend)
'Ura peu tupuna is a popular traditional dance to tell legends by combining dance, chants, speeches, and stage displays (Jonassen 1993:58). Annual dance competitions of the Cook Islands no longer include it, but schools and some tourist venues continue performances. 'Ura peu tupuna often use elaborate costumes and stage productions and include various Cook Islands Māori dances and musical forms. The story line and nature of the main characters in the legend determine the types of kapa in 'ura peu tupuna.

22

守谷シーサイドビレッジにて

Ru's Canoe
ルーのカヌー

英雄ルーが新しい島を求めて、20人の女性と共にハワイからカヌーで航海に出ました。かずかずの冒険の末、たどりついたのはアイトゥタキ島（ラロトンガ島と同じクック諸島のひとつ）でした……というラロトンガの伝説を踊りにしたものです。

23

'Ura kaparima (dance action song)
'Ura kaparima were formerly performed to chants and vivo (nose flutes). Since the introduction of other instruments — particulary guitar and ukulele, but also accordion, base guitar, harmonica accordion, keyboard, mandolin, steel guitar, and trumpet — this dance form has incorporated various exotic movements that reflect contemporary situations. The dance retains its storytelling aspect (Jonassen 1993:56). Typical kapa in 'ura kaparima echo the story as recited in song or chant. Hand motions might represent the ocean, a mountain, heaven, a tree, or emotions involving love, tear drops, or joy. Body gestures and facial expressions play a critical part in the overall kapa expressions. Whereas traditional costumes utilize the bounties of the ocean and the land, contemporary performers resort to modern materials that are less cumbersome to fetch and more malleable and colourful. In Cook Islands Māori culture, performance plays a major role in showing appreciation to hosts and visitors, and an overwhelming majority of performances are impromptu (Traxler 2011:3). Action songs are usually the easiest to utilize on such occasions because they can begin with music and conclude with both visitors and hosts joining in to dance.

24

25

[30] *Often shortened to 'ura akamori.*

FIGURE 22
Mangaia Island performers revealing a rich variety of cultural images from their legends, Cook Islands Constitution Day Parade, Avarua-Rarotonga, 2003 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 23
Betela Dance Troupe performing the Aitutaki Island legend of Ru's canoe, Japan, 1972. (Left lineup back to front) Ngametua Tepa, Ema Ngere, Tutai Tepa, (centre standing) Andrew Andrew, (right lineup back to front) Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Cathy Utia, and Muriel Jonassen (Namegawa 1975:9).

FIGURE 24
Impromptu kaparima performance by Betela Dance Troupe members (L-R): Terai Tapurau, Diya Nicholas-Taripo (kneeling), Clara Tetupu, Pauline Tangi, Zelma Nooroa (kneeling), Namegawa Island, 1972 (photo: Jon T.M Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 25
On stage kaparima performance by Betela Dance Troupe members, 1972 (L-R): Terai Tapurau, Diya Nicholas-Taripo (kneeling), Zelma Nooroa, (musicians in background) Wilson Fiji Snowball (face unseen, lead singer, base drum), Marorangi Pita Monga (face unseen, singer), Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen (lead guitar, singer), Teinakore Tuakeu (rhythm guitar, singer) (photo: Jon T.M Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 26
Betela Dance Team performing at the airport, c.1965 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 27
Kaparima entitled *Tiare Māori* composed by Michael William Jonassen in 1962 and later choreographed by his daughters Anne and Lily Jonassen. On stage performance by Betela Dance Troupe members, Namegawa Island, 1975 (L-R): Clara Te Tupu, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Cathy Utia, Muriel Jonassen, Lily Jonassen, Nooroa Tekeu Iro, Tutai Tepa, and Ngametua Tepa. Drummers and musicians: Andrew Andrew (paʻu mangō, ukulele), Pua Tetava (pātē tini), Rave Pitomaki (pātē tāngarongaro), Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen (pātē taki-lead drum, lead guitar) (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 28
Marino composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen, kaparima performed by Betela Dance Troupe members, Kent Hall, 1971: (front row L-R) Zelma Nooroa, Maria Paruru, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Clara Tetupu, (back row L-R) Muriel Jonassen, Lily Jonassen, and Diane Brown (photo: Jon T.M Jonassen family collection).

Shukai
Shukai is a Tongareva Island style of dance (Lamont 1867:123-124, 132). It is not commonly performed outside of Tongareva, but the prolific Tongareva dance instructor and contemporary composer Mita Soatini has suggested that shukai is still important in Tongareva culture (pers. comm., Rarotonga, 2013).

Nuku (Pageant)
Nuku presents all types of entertainment based around a biblical or church story. Large numbers of people prepare and attend, and the total performance can last for hours. The Nuku pageant during the Festival of the Arts had as its theme the story of the Arorangi district and the church's emergence (Jonassen 1993:58). Traditionally, nuku highlighted other themes including an event or a special god or individual. Since the advent of Christianity into the Cook Islands in 1821, the Nuku has been celebrated every year on 26 October, for more than 160 years, with a specific focus on Christian stories. Typical kapa in Nuku have softly expressive and controlled motions.

APIʻIPIʻI ʻURA
DANCE TRAINING

"Before the arrival of Christianity, dance training was primarily conducted under the supervision of taʻunga ʻura and the ʻare taʻunga (house of specialists), and almost all activities occurred in the ʻare karioi."

Before the arrival of Christianity, dance training was primarily conducted under the supervision of taʻunga ʻura and the ʻare taʻunga (house of specialists), and almost all activities occurred in the ʻare karioi. Often associated with sacred or festival activities, the musical accompaniment during dancing emphasized kaʻara, paʻu (bass drum), vivo, and peʻe. Even then, the personality of the tumu ʻura or taʻunga ʻura interlaced into the training methodology of Cook Islands Māori dances. The arrival of Christianity on Rarotonga after 1823 mellowed the training discipline, although the precision in drum dances was still evident in the ʻura paʻata as it increased in popularity. By the 1960s, lead dance instructors (taʻunga ʻura) were more in the open and would typically be in front facing student dancers assembled in community halls and lined up ready to learn and mingle. In a typical session, dance steps are repeated in segments with assistant instructors moving freely among student dancers to make necessary corrections. Some assistant instructors carried purumu kikau (coconut brooms) for the purpose of awakening distracted student dancers or correcting untidy dance movements. Constant repetition is utilized, and each line of dancers often takes turn being in front to force better retention of movements.[31]

Most current taʻunga ʻura utilize those traditional approaches of teaching dancing but have incorporated new methods for muscle preparation and technique improvement. When teaching dance movements, several dance instructors now utilize a set training approach (see Appendix 4 of this chapter).

[31] Temu Marsters and Lily Jonassen-Andrew in Betela Youth Club, Ota Joseph in the Aitutaki Youth Club, Tumupu Tumupu in Muriavai Dance Team, and Ngarima George in Ivi Māori used repetition by line groups or each individual would be asked to demonstrate actions that others needed to see repeated. Minor or major dance errors are quickly corrected during this process. Many dance instructors pursue group precision movements in this way.

[32] Taina White is one of the instructors who have used an adapted modern training method.

FIGURE 29
Taina White[32] and her Mapuapua Dance Group, at Muri Beach, Rarotonga, 1992 (L-R): Taina White, Leo Snowball, Carolyn Hunter, Niko, Turia Vogel, Alison Makimare, Puna Taripo, and (front) Melody Jonassen (photo: Taina White family collection).

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

When the Spanish guitar was introduced into the Tuamotu Islands in 1606, the local inhabitants developed what is commonly known as the Pa'umotu rhythm: a mixed 'rolling-ocean' sound. Before and during that period, genealogical linkages and some oral histories attest to some contact between the Tuamotu Islands and the Pa Enua Tokerau (Northern Group) of the Cook Islands, so Spanish guitar influence at that stage is unclear but quite possible. Evidently though, much later, Cook Islanders who worked on the phosphate islands in French Polynesia brought back home guitars and their knowledge of that Pa'umotu style (Smith 1963: record cover notes). This led to other homegrown styles, including the māmaeata technique of plucking strings in an off-key fashion.

The introduction of the harmonica accordion into the Cook Islands occurred in the late 1800s. By then, the name 'ura takapuni had become synonymous with 'ura piani (or harmonica dance). The harmonica accordion was a popular musical instrument among sea captains and sailors during the 18th and 19th centuries. Many such captains ventured into the Cook Islands and left a legacy. Albert Kaitara Nicholas (1870 to 1946) was the son of a sea captain and an accomplished musician: he played the accordion (Jonassen 1986:16). By all accounts, his father Henry Nicholas (1843-1901) was also a musician. Most certainly, the third generation Albert Ta'aviri Nicholas (1904-1969) was an accomplished accordion player (Jonassen 1986:19). Ta'aviri's children (fourth generation) shared many stories of their musical father, and they themselves have since made significant contributions to Cook Islands music and dance, particularly Rima Nicholas (Avatiu Teenagers), Clare Nicholas (Tipaerui Band), and Apiti Nicholas[33] (Tipaerui Band and Vagabonds). Apiti reentered the music scene on Rarotonga in the 1960s with a band that featured the harmonica accordion.

The early impact of the harmonica accordion is also witnessed in the story of another sea captain who made his home in the Cook Islands. Captain Reinert Godfrey Jonassen (or Reinhardt Godfred Jonassen), an accomplished Norwegian born sea captain, builder, and musician, played the harmonica accordion and violin. He operated a shop in Aitutaki and Atiu and often sailed his boat *Annie* among the islands (Jonassen 2009:167-180).[34] Captain Jonassen played his musical instruments in Aitutaki and had a personal impact on his Aitutaki community[35] and especially his son Michael (Jonassen 2009:167-184), who later composed over 30 songs. Some of Michael's creative songs are Aitutaki and Cook Islands classics (see later discussion on Betela Dance Troupe).[36] In his youth, Michael formed a mouth harmonica band made up of more than 30 musicians (pers. comm.,).

Ukulele playing in the Cook Islands was influenced from Hawai'i, where the instrument was developing and adapting to local styles. German-born Captain Emil Piltz married Rauariki Tukuau (also known as Raoariki o Arera Ariki Tukuau Vakatini), and while living on her family land in Avarua, opened a shop on Rarotonga (Siers 1977:16). His ship often visited Hawai'i and Tahiti. By this time, Cook Islands traditional culture was absorbing ukulele, mu'umu'u, and quilting. Whereas many Hawaiians were tracing the name and development of their ukulele to the lele (flying) uku (lice), Rarotongans were comparing their ukarere name to the rere (flying) uka (froth of the ocean waves or smooth). Melodious styles, in addition to the introduction of the guitar, ukulele, mandolin,[37] trumpet,[38] and harmonica accordion, dramatically changed the imene kaparima (song action song) and 'ura kaparima (dance action song) format in the Cook Islands. The steel guitar made an impact in public audio recordings of kaparima music, but it did not generally translate into stage dance presentations.[39]

Suppression by Christian missionaries and some converted traditional chiefs of customary performing and spiritual arts essentially drove traditional dance and musical forms underground. New laws (which we now call "Blue laws") set strict behavioral standards, and some music and dance practices disappeared while others re-emerged in seemingly new forms. The imene tuki and the 'ūtē absorbed biblical themes and concepts, and their accompanying dance moves mellowed in form and style.

When the Cook Islands became a British protectorate in 1888, some of the inhibiting pressures on traditional dances were relaxed. However, strict control of public social activities still kept some performances underground. Annexation by New Zealand in 1901 increased opportunities for expanded dance expressions, and some dances resurfaced. Islanders commonly used Western costuming — including the mu'umu'u, which became acceptable attire for some dance forms. Initially, men dancers often dressed in long black trousers and white long-sleeve shirts, but gradually they returned to more traditional costumes. New village youth clubs and dance teams appeared. From 1947, the Tahiti-based government sponsored the Aitutaki island dance teams several times, and the French military often included the Aitutaki teams in Papeete's Bastille Day celebrations. The names that emerged from that period included gifted drummer Papa Pita Monga from Aitutaki and composer Michael William Jonassen.[40]

On Rarotonga, the Aitutaki Youth Club was vibrant, and other clubs materialized in Takuvaine, Titikaveka, Avatiu, Betela, and Pue. Such composers as Sonny Tetuairo and his wife the singer Pepe were releasing original songs on long-play recordings in New Zealand. Composer Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen was venturing into original compositions for dance performances in school and

30A

FIGURE 30A
Youth Club performing on *Monterey*. The tourist who took and sent the photo stated it was Betela Youth Club, c.1965, Rarotonga (photo: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen family collection).

[33] Apiti Nicholas, an exceptional Cook Islands musician and singer, was given a gold medal for her abilities by the government of French Polynesia in the 1970s, and inducted in 2014 into the inaugural Tangi Reka Hall of Fame in New Zealand. Others inducted at the same time in the Hall of Fame include John Lindsay, Jon Tikivanotau Michael Jonassen, Tepoave Raitia, and Andre Tapena.

[34] Also Michael William Jonassen (1912-2007), personal diary.

[35] When Capt Jonassen's wife Tauariki was found to be terminally ill, she and her family arranged for Capt Jonassen to marry her younger cousin Tiavaru Tini Pare'anga.

[36] In his youth, Michael William Jonassen formed an all mouth-harmonica band that played for several years. He indicated that the great composers on Aitutaki during his childhood included Tini Pare'anga, Tiroa, Tai'ava, Ta Pito Ravemaki, Kirikava, Tekotia, Ngati, and Kopiriara, who created some great Aitutaki dances. Popular dances at the time were "koni pa'u [drum dance], 'ura 'akaau [engagement dance], and 'Akatutu ite peu etene [enacting legends]." Harmonica was popular on the island (pers. comm., 1971).

[37] Teio George grew up playing both the steel guitar and the mandolin and led the Tiare Māori dance team from Aitutaki to New Zealand in 1946 (personal communication, Auckland, 1968). George released an LP featuring in part the mandolin as part of the 'ura kaparima sound.

[38] LP recordings of Cook Islands music by Viking, Hibiscus, and other labels in the 1950s and 1960s often included the trumpet, steel guitar, ukulele, and acoustic guitar sound in 'ura kaparima songs.

[39] Pepe and the Rarotongans often featured the steel guitar in their recordings, and Reinhardt Jonassen also used it in his band performances in Auckland (New Zealand) in the 1950s and 1960s. There were other Cook Islands steel guitar players, but apart from impromptu performances, the steel guitar itself (unlike the trumpet, ukulele, guitar, and umpa [base string tea chest instrument]) was generally not used in Cook Islands dance performances.

[40] Michael William Jonassen composed the songs Akiaki Tupa, Namu, Darling Roti Koe Noku, Ngaipu Ngaitua, Aue Te Tiare Māori, *and* I Te Pae Taatai Pakea, *which were used widely by dance groups in their kaparima or mixed drum dance performances.*

later for such dance groups as Betela, Eitiare, and Te Puna Korero.[41] With tourism developing, the various youth clubs' emphasis on traditional dances increased. Village shows were presented in community packing sheds around the island or at the Victory and Empire theatres. Over the years, these teams, especially the Aitutaki, Takuvaine, and the Betela Youth Clubs, also performed on visiting cruise ships. Betela performances at that time imitated the then prevailing format of presenting items — chants, drum dances, action songs, or legends — between modern dance songs.

As there were no microphones or public address (PA) systems, band members — often from the Pokata, Emory, Pue, Takuavaine, or Tupapaku bands — had to sing in loud chorus. Made up of 30 to 100 singers and musicians playing guitars, ukelele, box-fiddle bass, bass drum, and brass trumpets, the bands played a variety of dance songs into the night, interrupted only by rest intervals and intermittent cultural performances by the youth clubs.[42] Community-based composers, such as Bob Mataira[43] and Sonny Tetuairo,[44] emerged during that period and were soon followed by singer-composer Tutu Ringiao[45] and Teata Makirere.[46] Teata wrote a farewell song *Te Takake Nei Tatou* that was performed widely by dance teams as a standard closing song for their shows.[47] String band music dominance was interrupted by the introduction of electric bands. The very first was Reinhardt "Rena Ariki" Jonassen and his Blue Lagooners Band consisting of Reinhardt Jonassen on electric lead guitar, Peri Mose on electric rhythm guitar, Bob Mare on the first modern set of rock drums on Rarotonga, and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen on shakers.

The Peyroux brothers soon followed with their electric lead and rhythm guitar renditions of island songs and popular Western music. There were others: Apiti Nicholas and her Vagabonds,[48] Pearly Stars with Nia Heather, Kontiki with Papa Takai Ngatipa, and Volcanoes with George Brown. At this point, bands were playing in halls as a distinctly separate presentation from the dancing groups, but some band singers were moving freely between dance teams and their electric band. From youth clubs emerged many hitherto unknown singers: Wilson Fiji Snowball (Betela), Teina and Joy Ngatikaura (Betela), Fred Tira (Aitutaki),[49] Papa Teio George (Aitutaki), Apiti Nicholas (Avatiu), and group leader Tunui Tereu (Aitutaki) and his talented daughter Mamia Tunui (Aitutaki). Ngatamaine Charlie and the Ponia sisters were making their mark as good dancers, and groups were increasingly mixing their stage performances with a variety of dance types and cultural origins. The young and talented Tepoave Raitia was beginning to release popular contemporary songs, and Ota Joseph, Maria Henderson, Temangi Jimmy Moeroa, Anne Jonassen, Tere Rima, Ngarima George, and many others were becoming well established in their leadership, dance choreography, costuming, and performance roles. Prisoners formed a string band singing group called Tarona Six (Pink Six) and released their music over Radio Cook Islands.[50] Even government under the leadership of Premier Albert Henry was pursuing policies that encouraged the establishment of a more vibrant traditional culture in every day ceremonial programs. The Tumu kōrero (specialists in oral traditions and culture) and the creation of a House of Ariki and a Koutu Nui supplemented the resurgence of cultural items.

The proliferation of youth clubs led to the formation of the Cook Islands Youth Council, which eventually became the Cook Islands National Arts Theatre group, a powerhouse of Cook Islands dance and music. Some youth clubs especially Betela, continued to be very active. Indeed, the modern developmental history of Cook Islands Māori dance is anchored on two major contributors:

[41] *By 2014, Jon had composed over 500 songs. His early songs were released in the late 1950s and early 1960s including* Kinaki Taro, Tiaki Mai *also known as* Tupu Ua Ra, Ti'a Mai, *and* Avaavaroa. *Many of his songs are also used widely by dance teams. 'Ura kaparima favorites include* My Vahine, Pare Kapakapa, E Ta'i Roimata, Mou Piri, Mamaeata, Motukore, *and* Akaipoipo.

[42] *This was the setting and period in which Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen composed the very popular song* Mou Piri. *See the video documentary by Sharyn Williams entitled* Mou Piri.

[43] *Bob Mataira compositions and English tune adaptations were very popular on Cook Islands radio in the 1960s.*

[44] *Sonny composed many songs that were recorded by his wife Pepe under the label* Pepe and the Rarotongans *of which he was a member. For many years, their songs appeared on radio Pacific-wide and many releases, such as* Manea, *became popular as 'ura kaparima items.*

[45] *Tutu Ringiao released several recordings in New Zealand containing many of his original compositions and dance teams still use such selections as* Tumu Tevarovaro *as kaparima items.*

[46] *Teata Makirere began his musical career by translating some memorable songs, many of which are classic kaparima items:* 'U'una Koe I To Inangaro, Come Back To Rarotonga. *He is a gifted musician and composer.*

[47] *Farewell songs utilized since include* Kua Tae Te Ora *composed by Turepu Turepu and both* Aere Ra *and* Remember Me *composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen.*

[48] *Made up of Apiti singing, Johnny on electric piano accordian, Kerekere Vakapora on electric guitar, Takai Ngatipa on rhythm, and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen on drums. Reinhardt had moved back to New Zealand leaving his drum set behind, the only one on Rarotonga. So, perhaps Apiti had no choice in drummer selection. New members later joined the Vagabonds, including Alan Tuara and Albert Berto Nicholas.*

the Cook Islands National Arts Theatre (CINAT) and the Betela Dance Team (later to become known as the Betela Dance Troupe). Both travelled widely and popularized Cook Islands Māori music and dance on the international stage with a professional quality of performance. CINAT was government sponsored and consisted of selected performers, mostly Rarotonga residents, some 30 to 60 performers in all. CINAT released several long-play recordings of dances from all islands in the Cook Group and participated in several international events, including the opening of the Sydney Opera House. CINAT workers, were generally supported by government while on tour, and resources for the group were mostly drawn from a strong base of traditional leaders and culture experts.

Betela was a community-based and privately sponsored group that had a focused quality production anchored on the efforts of businesswoman Teina Lily Jonassen,[51] her husband Michael William Jonassen (a primary school teacher), their children (Anne, Dora, Lily, Jon, and Muriel), and the extended Vaiakura (or Vaiokura) family neighbourhood, ranging between 16 to 40 performers, most of whom lived in the vicinity of the Betela meeting house, traditionally called Akaoa but now popularly becoming known as Betela.

30B

31

[49] *Fred Tira went on to become a major star in Australia and South-east Asia singing in top hotels. He assisted in the establishment of Paradise Cove in Hawai'i before his retirement from stage shows in the early 1980s.*

[50] *The emergence of the early recording efforts in Rarotonga also promoted the revival and development of Cook Islands dance and music in the 1960s and 1970s involving Radio Cook Islands live studio recordings, Harry Napa (recording for Viking long play releases), Peter Storey (audio tape recordings), Jon Jonassen, and Tom Tixier (Marino Recordings), Eric Ponia (Akarua Studio), Wade Swoboda (Rangiura Recordings), and Garth Young (Capricorn Studio).*

[51] *See L. Jonassen 2005.*

FIGURE 30B
Betela Youth Club Dance Team Supporters: (front sitting) Mama Ape, (middle row L-R) Mama Tu Marsters, Mama Teina Lily Jonassen, Mama Ema "Uria" Taru Moana, Mama Tumupu, (back row L-R) Mennie Koteka, Papa Temu Marsters, and Papa Michael William Jonassen, in Vaiokura "Betera," Puaikura, 1963 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 31
Betela Youth Club Members: (front row, L-R) Inano Eraio, Mata Anthony, Mii Ratai; (second row, L-R) Tere Kavakura, Anika Eraio, Tere Pa'ura, Anne Jonassen, Toti Tenemaka, Annette Naea Maurangi, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen; (back row, L-R) Nga "Puakatoro" Anthony, Bob Mare, Peri Mose, Tumupu Tumupu, Taru Kamo, Tamaka Tamanui, at Lily and Michael Jonassen's residence, Arorangi, Rarotonga, 1963 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

Several group members were extended relatives that lived in other parts of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Manihiki, Palmerston, or Nga Pu Toru (Atiu, Ma'uke, Mitiaro). Dance performance selections often reflected the background of the performers. A Betela team member sometimes introduced a new item from his or her tribe or island. Sisters Anne or Lily Jonassen usually refined the choreography with some assistance from Dora in the early years, and from Muriel in later years. The Jonassen Sisters became a buzz thrill for Cook Islands cultural dance and performance enthusiasts and were an important foundation for the Betela Dance Team.[52] Brother Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen and other drummers and musicians generally stayed in the background in the early years.

That changed when Betela Youth Club Dance Team developed into an internationally travelling Betela Dance Troupe, and the once 30 to 100 membership was reduced dramatically to 16. Drummers and musicians now had to take centre stage while dancers were changing costumes, in order for the show to be exciting and non-stop. There was a conscious effort to "fill up the stage" by placing the drummers and musicians centre stage, and by adding much more movement in the dance choreography arrangements. The traditional approach, especially in 'ura kaparima and 'ura pa'u, had basically set lines with the primary focus on lower body, upper body, and facial actions. Now it was a dynamic series of movements across the stage while maintaining the traditional storytelling format of the hands, body, feet, and face. The new approach demanded more teamwork, fitness, focus, and elegance for the performers. The accompanying music itself was interlaced with the rich variety of Cook Islands Māori sounds, and the musicians had to multi-task, playing drums, guitars, or ukulele; singing; dancing; and smiling all the time. The sounds needed amplification and one of the performers took the additional role of being the master of ceremony.

[52] The talents of earlier Betela performers, such as Tumupu Tumupu (Rarotonga), Teinakore Tuakeu (Aitutaki), and Wilson Fiji Snowball (Ma'uke), set the ground work for succeeding talented members: Andrew Andrew (Aitutaki), Pauline Tangi (Manihiki), Clara Tetupu (Atiu), Diana Brown (Rarotonga), Mataio Nielson (Aitutaki), Ota Tuaeu (Aitutaki), Pua Tetava (Mitiaro), Zelma Nooroa (Rarotonga/Rakahanga), and Diya Nicholas-Taripo (Rarotonga/Mangaia). The trend of exciting new talents continued over the years.

[53] The song E Whitu Nga Waka *was the usual Māori New Zealand item selected primarily because it recited the story of the sailing of seven canoes from Rarotonga to Aotearoa (New Zealand).*

[54] The Hawaiian item was the Hawaiian wedding song. It was a huge favourite among Japanese audiences. Occassionaly, the Hawaiian number was substituted with Lovely Hula Hands *or Cook Islands love songs* Aipo, Tia Mai, *or* Tupu Ua Ra, *all composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen, or* Kua Ati Toku Ngakau *adapted by Michael W. Jonassen.*

32A

32B

32C

Occasionally, the group added a sample item from the New Zealand Māori,[53] Hawaiian Maoli,[54] Samoan, or Gilbert and Ellice Islands[55] cultures into the one-hour live show.

Over the years during Betela's development, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen increasingly contributed to the music and staging part of the performance. Jon's singing collaboration with sister Lily was particularly constructive. Betela's dance formats became increasingly dynamic with Lily's choreography skills and Anne's costuming and management ability. Of the extremely talented Aitutaki drummers, Teinakore Tuakeu memorized a large array of drum beats; Mataio Nielson was a master on the pātē tini (double play) instrument inventing triple play techniques; and Andrew Andrew was unsurpassed on the pa'u mangō. Wilson Fiji Snowball's silky, golden voice from Ma'uke broke many Japanese hearts and added mystery and mana to Betela performances. Over the years, new team members performing twice a day every day for six months further refined the group's techniques. Betela performed professionally in thousands of shows and in various Pacific and Asian countries. Some of the regular audiences in Japan exceeded 26,000 people, and during what they called Golden Week (the hottest season), the Betela show included a half hour of major fireworks at the conclusion of the Cook Islands Māori dancing part of the show. Betela appeared in many new publications and numerous television and movie programs. Several released audio recording covers featured Betela members, and some major publication covers featured Betela dancers.

[55] Sometimes a sasa, a sitting type of hand-slapping storytelling, is incorporated into the show. The dance is reportedly from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, but similar to the Samoan sasa. The fire dance was a regular feature in the night show and could arguably be viewed as being Samoan in origin.

[56] In the late 1950s, Michael William Jonassen and his wife Teina Lily Napa produced a major stage drama performance retelling the story of Ali Baba in a Cook Islands cultural and musical format. The purpose was to raise funds for the purchase of sacrament cups for the Arorangi LMS church. The performance involved many residents living in Arorangi, and it was such a success that the Ali Baba show was repeated twice. Ali Baba became a catalyst for the emergence of the Betela Youth Club Dance Team.

[57] Betela Dance Team also embarked on several other fundraising efforts to assist with the building of the Aitutaki hostel in Rarotonga.

FIGURE 32A
Jonassen Sisters performing in Arorangi, Rarotonga, 1964: (L-R) Lily, Dora, Anne, and (front) Muriel.

FIGURE 32B
Jonassen Sisters returning from Japan dance tour, Rarotonga, 1969: (L-R) Lily, Anne, and (front) Muriel.

FIGURE 32C
Jonassen Sisters in Japan, 1971 (L-R) Lily, Anne, and (front) Muriel. In the background hangs a Cook Islands quilt sewn by their mother Teina Lily Jonassen (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

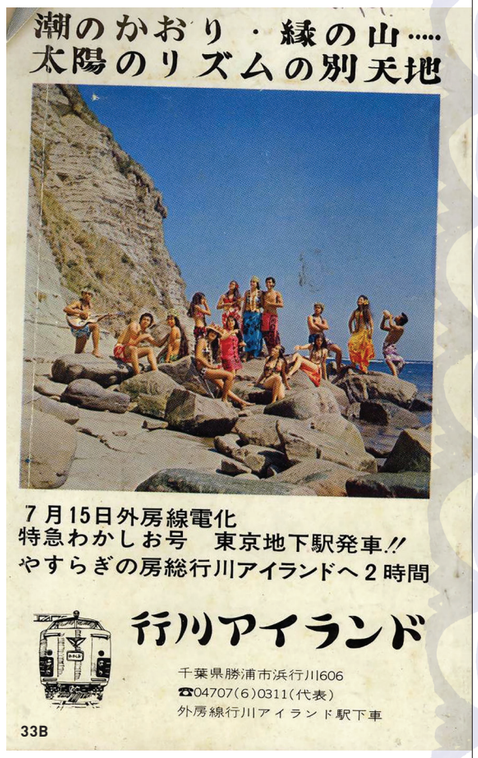


FIGURE 33A
Anne and Jon on flyer advertising the Betela Dance Troupe show, which included a major fireworks display during Golden Week, 13 July to 31 August.

FIGURE 33B.
The back cover of a Japan railway timetable used throughout Japan shows Betela Dance Troupe members on the beach at Namegawa Island (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 34
Anne Jonassen and Betela Dance Troupe appeared on many Discover Japan posters at every train station throughout Japan. Betela also appeared on many pamphlet covers for several years, including the 1975 Japanese introduction to the Cook Islands (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

BETELA DANCE TROUPE

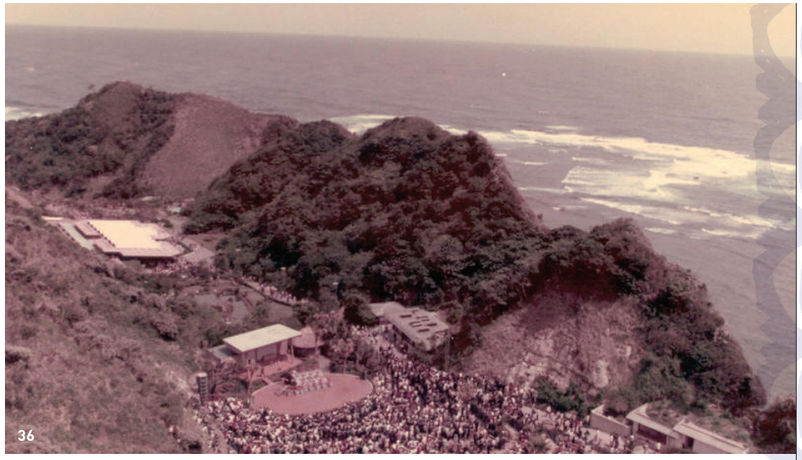
The social activities that began in 1959 at the Betela Meeting House in Vaiakura, Akaoa, Arorangi began to emphasize cultural dance as the team reassembled at the home of Michael and Teina Lily Jonassen. The old theatre, known as the *Roxy* in the Jonassen family home, became the base for a new exciting community cultural venture.

Dance instructors included Taru Moana, Temu Marsters, Michael William Jonassen,[56] and Ben Ellis. By 1963, the Betela Youth Club's show was incorporating new ideas of stage movement and constant motion, and in July of that year, Betela embarked on its first off-island tour, visiting the islands of Mitiaro, Ma'uke, Atiu, and Aitutaki. Backed by local business A.B. Donalds, Betela designed their tour to raise money to support the Cook Islands participation in the first South Pacific Games, to be held in Fiji. Local residents received the Betela Youth Club Dance Team performances with much enthusiasm.

In an overzealous effort to force the group to stay overnight on Ma'uke, some Ma'uke boat handlers deliberately capsized the small boat ferrying the Betela Youth Club performers across the reef inlet to *Tiare Taporo*. The strategy did not work, and the Betela group continued on their scheduled journey and hung their wet clothes and costumes over *Tiare Taporo's* sail ropes. Betela returned

FIGURE 35A
Betela Youth Club Blue Queen Fundraising Tour in support of Cook Islands South Pacific Games participation, Rarotonga, 1963: (front row L-R) Haua Haua, Anne Jonassen, Charlie Mare, Lily Jonassen, (back row L-R) Mata Utia, Mii Ratai (unseen), Mura Eraio (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 35B & C
Betela Youth Club Blue Queen Fundraising Tour entourage circling Rarotonga, 1963 (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).



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to Rarotonga after a very successful fundraising campaign.[57] The ingenious fundraising involved several youth clubs: Betela, Aitutaki, Takuvaine, Pue, and Titikaveka. Each dance group had its colour queen. Betela's team leader Anne Jonassen was the Blue Queen (Jonassen 23 Oct 1976:14-15). Blue Queen along with the other queens raised much money while increasing enthusiasm for the Cook Islands team in the first South Pacific Games.

The standard of performance expectations altered in 1964, when a major national dance group competition was organized at Muri Beach. With their elaborate costumes, dance precision, and refined choreography, the Betela Youth Club's performance surpassed all challengers, and several special shows at the Empire Theatre and the Arorangi packing shed attracted large crowds. The group's 15 March diary entry listed 30 members[58] boarding the cruise ship *Northern Star* for a non-stop performance consisting of the following items: *Tuatua Akakino*[59] (kaparima), *Tamariki Betela* (singing chant), *Ki Mua Ki Muri* ('ura marie – slow dance), and *Putiputi* ('ura pa'u viviki – fast drum dance). During their performance, *Northern Star* circled Rarotonga. The Takuvaine and Aitutaki youth clubs also regularly performed on such cruise ships, which included *Monterey*, *Mariposa*, and other liners. That year, Betela Youth Club was one of the youth clubs invited to participate in the first Constitution Celebrations commemorating Cook Islands self-governing political status in free association with New Zealand.

In 1964, organizers of Bastille Day celebrations and the local government in Tahiti invited Betela Youth Club, increasingly known as Betela Dance Team, to participate in the 1965 dancing competition. A dream trip for most members, they made their preparations, and excitement was great. Nevertheless, rumours circulated that the group would be blocked from leaving Rarotonga because Betela's leader Teina Lily Jonassen was an outspoken critic of Albert Henry, leader of the ruling Cook Islands Party (CIP) and the country's premier. Indeed, just before the proposed pick-up for Betela at the Rarotonga airport, the CIP government suddenly declined the French air force plane's landing permit. Incredibly, government representatives explained that the Rarotonga airport, located immediately adjacent to the beach, was too small and fragile "like the edge of a mushroom" — and a part of "the mushroom" might break if a heavy plane landed on it.[60]

Undaunted, Michael William Jonassen and his wife Teina Lily Jonassen inspired their group to continue with travel plans and, using their personal resources, discreetly chartered the local schooner *Akatere* to take them and the group

[58] Betela Youth Club members performing on Northern Star *cruise ship, 15 March 1964, included (in alphabetical order): Nga Anthony, Doris Brown, Anika Eraio, Poko Exam, Mata John, Anne Jonassen, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Muriel Jonassen, Taru Kamo, Tere 'Sakute' Kavakura, Charlie Mare, Ina Mare, Peter Mare, Piri Marsters, Daniel Tutai Mataroa, Piriau Miri, Punu Maui Miri, Moana Pi Moana, Elizabeth Ngaputa, Tere Pa'ura, Mariana Powell, Paa Pupa, Tamaka Tamanui, Toti Tenemaka, Tiarua Tiarua, Tiputoa Tiputoa, Tuaine Tumupu, Tumupu Tumupu, Mii Utia, and Tou Utia (Betela Youth Club Roll Call list, Jonassen family papers).*

[59] The song Tuatua Akakino *was composed by previous generations who have since passed, but the song has apparently been more recently claimed and copyrighted.*

[60] This "mushroom" reasoning originated from Albert Henry the Premier himself (Taraota Tom, a former policeman in Aitutaki, 19 Jan 2015, pers. comm.).

FIGURE 36
One of the regular stages of the Betela Dance Troupe in Namegawa Island (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen Family collection).

to the nearby island of Aitutaki, where the French plane would be picking up a team from Aitutaki. Before government officials in Rarotonga realized what was happening, the Betela group was on its way to Tahiti. It was Betela's second tour visiting Aitutaki and Tahiti (Jonassen 23 Oct 1976:14-15). The CIP government would likely have had difficulty implementing their intended intervention in Aitutaki because most CIP political support originated from that island, and preventing the French plane landing there would have meant the Aitutaki dance team could not go to Tahiti.

The local Tahitian crowds were riveted by Betela's style, costumes, music, and drumbeats and by a choreographic innovation that improved the quality of individual items and the overall show. Even rehearsals found Tahitian enthusiasts hiding in the bushes with tape recorders ready to capture the music, while supportive Tahitian mamas (respected older women) assisted the Betela group by checking the outside grounds for such 'spies.'

The outstanding Aitutaki team was gracious in accepting the greater popularity of Betela, perhaps recognizing that most of the Betela members were actually from Aitutaki. Betela was awarded the highly prized Diploma of Excellence and first prize — a huge, intricately carved wooden cup. Betela

"The local Tahitian crowds were riveted by Betela's style, costumes, music, and drumbeats and by a choreographic innovation that improved the quality of individual items and the overall show."

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FIGURES 37 & 38
Betela Youth Club performing 'ura pa'u entitled *Tiritiri Kuakua*, Aitutaki Airport, 1965: (L-R, row 1 back to front) Lily Jonassen, Muriel Jonassen, Dora Evans, (row 2 back to front) Teinakore Sammy Tongia, Tamaka Tamanui, (row 3) Tere Sakute Kamakura, (row 4, back to front) Ruth Tixier, Anne Jonassen (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

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honoured the Aitutaki team by performing at the Aitutaki airport on their way home to Rarotonga and presented a 'thank you' show for the people of Aitutaki in usual Aitutaki style: a truck laden with Betela drummers visited village after village to offer drum music and vocal announcements. Within a week, the Betela group returned to Rarotonga on a chartered Polynesian Airlines plane.

Betela was also a crowd-thriller at the Bastille Day Celebrations competition. For the first time after several years dominating the Bastille celebrations, the Aitutaki group's show was not the highlight, and Betela was given the prized end-of-night spot, the climax of the night.[61]

Betela Youth Club eventually attracted the attention of New Zealand show promoter Benny Levine, who offered the group an extensive tour of New Zealand and Australia, scheduled for 1966. Levine asked the manager of Otera Rarotonga, Albie Dawson, to manage the tour. The terms of the contract, however, were of concern to Betela group leader Anne Jonassen: particular clauses gave control of the team's costuming to Levine, and Dawson wanted to take some of his hotel workers as part of the team. While Jonassen was negotiating these issues,

[61] The 33 Betela Dance Team members that participated in the Bastille Celebration in Tahiti in 1965 included the following individuals (in alphabetical order): Mata Anthony (m) – dancer; Nga Anthony (m) – musician, singer, & drummer; Totini Aretere – dancer; Anika Eraio (f) – dancer; Mangu Eraio (m) – dancer; Dora Jonassen (née Evans) (f) – dancer, singer, & choreographer; Mata John (m) – dancer; Anne Jonassen (f) – lead female dancer; Jon Jonassen (m) – lead drummer & musician; Lily Jonassen (f) – dancer, singer, & choreographer; Michael Jonassen (m) – composer; Teina Lily Jonassen (f) – group leader; Tau Jones (f) – singer; Tou Jones (m) – dancer; Tere Sakute Kavakura (m) – dancer; Mama Veka Kimi Ben Vaine (f) – singer; Apera Makimare (m) – dancer, lead chanter; Charlie Mare (m) – dancer; Mami Mare (f) – singer; Pita Mare (m) – dancer; Temu Marsters – dance instructor, dancer, & choreographer; Nukutau Mataio – dancer; Mataroa Mataroa (m) – dancer; Toti Tenemaka Maui (f) – dancer; Elizabeth Ngaputa (f) – dancer; Tere Pa'ura (f) – dancer; Fiji Wilson Snowball (m) – dancer, singer, & musician; Tamaka Tamanui Tamaka (m) – dancer; Ruth Tixier (f) – dancer; Teinakore Sammy Tongia (m) – dancer; Tumupu Tumupu (m) – dancer; Tuaine Turepu (f) – dancer; and Vaine Turepu (f) – dancer (Betela Youth Club Roll Call list, Jonassen family papers).

[62] Subsequently, Betela Dance Team's proposed third tour to visit New Zealand and Australia did not occur.

FIGURE 39
Betela Youth Club's Competition Trophy and Certificate of Excellence after the win in the Bastille Dance Competition, Tahiti: (sitting L-R) Jonassen Sisters Muriel, Dora, (standing L-R) Anne, Lily, 1965 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURES 40, 41 & 42
News of Betela Dance Troupe in *Le Journal de Tahiti*, 1972 (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

Dawson approached Tumupu Tumupu, an extremely talented performer and musician and a key Betela dancer. Following Anne Jonassen's rejection of the contract, some members of the group followed Tumupu's lead and joined him and Dawson in a hastily arranged tour under a Rarotonga festival label.[62]

The Cook Islands Youth Council first toured Tahiti in July 1967. Among its members were some Betela Youth Club members, so it was a second visit for Anne, Lily, and Muriel Jonassen; Wilson Fiji Snowball; and Teinakore Tuakeu (Jonassen 23 Oct 1976:14-15).

The next and fourth tour of the Betela Dance Team began in Tahiti. The group made newspaper and television headlines, and team members became household names. An agent was fascinated by outstanding performances, especially from the young star Kennedy Marsters and the Rarotongan girls (Jonassen 30 Oct 1976:14-15).

With Anne Jonassen leading solo, the Betela Dance Troupe contracted with Maeva Tahiti, the best Tahitian dance team, to take the first-ever Polynesian

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show tour to Japan from the South Pacific. The combined South Pacific team comprised 5 male and 1 female Tahitians from Maeva Tahiti and 4 females and 1 male Cook Islanders from Betela Dance Troupe (Anne, Lily, and Muriel Jonassen; Teumere Mazel; and drummer Teinakore Tuakeu). The team toured Japan for three months before returning to the Cook Islands via Hawai'i.

In 1969, what had become the Betela Dance Troupe, headed for its fifth overseas tour to Aotearoa New Zealand.[63] Continuing to believe in the beauty and importance of Cook Islands culture, Michael and Lily Jonassen made a loan to privately co-fund the tour. The first Betela members arrived on 4 July 1969 on a New Zealand Hercules air force plane while the remaining performers together with the bulk of equipment arrived three days later on the ship *Moana Roa*.[64] Betela opened its first show at James Cook High School in Manurewa on 17 July 1969 to celebrate the school's anniversary. *Town and Around* television filmed Betela among flowers at Auckland Domain. Later, *Women's Weekly* interviewed Betela members (Jonassen 30 Oct 1976:14-15).

[63] *The 23 members of the 1969 Betela Dance Team that toured New Zealand (in alphabetical order) were Mata Anthony (m) – dancer; Poko Brown (f) – dancer; Mura Eraio (m) – dancer & drummer; Maria Eraio (f) – dancer; Dora Evans (f) – dancer, singer, & choreographer; Anne Jonassen (f) – lead female dancer, costume designer, & choreographer; Jon Jonassen (m) – musician & lead drummer; Rena Jonassen (m) – musician, singer, & lead guitarist; Lily Jonassen (f) – dancer, singer, & choreographer; Mrs Lily Jonassen (f) – group leader; Muriel Jonassen (f) – dancer; Teta Reva (f) – dancer; Kennedy Marsters (m) – drummer; Elisabeth Marsters (f) – dancer; Mataroa Mataroa (m) – dancer; Takai Ngatipa (m) – musician & singer; Wilson Fiji Snowball (m) – singer, musician, dancer, & base drummer; Timoteo Timoteo (Wichman) (m) – dancer & fire dancer; Teinakore Tuakeu (m) – musician, singer, & lead drummer; Johnny Vahua (m) – musician & singer; Bill Boydy Campbell (m) – musician & singer; Ra Puriri (m) – musician & singer; and Daniel Anautoa (m) – drummer.*

[64] *Customary feasts were held for the dance team: George residence in Kingsland, Evans home in Northshore, Tupareanga home at Otara, Nonoo and Tapita Jonassen home in Sandringham, and Cummings home in Avondale.*

[65] *Cook Islanders in Tokoroa gave a tremendous welcome with a huge feast and a dance at Tokoroa Memorial Hall. "From Tokoroa it was Joe Pomare's country Reporoa, 25 miles from Rotorua. Boys were billoted in Mormon homes while girls resided in Reporoa – safe with Mama" (Jonassen 30 Oc1976:14-15).*

[66] *In Horohoro, the marae hall was in a farming area with no other house seen for miles. When Betela arrived around 4 pm, there were only sheep, cows, and fences. "We were wondering who would turn up to see our show. Surprise, at sundown, the place was packed and the people of Horohoro who appeared were absolutely wonderful hosts. They enjoyed our show so much that they turned around and performed for us. It was a great impromptu social and cultural event" (Jon Jonassen diary notes).*

FIGURE 43
Anne Jonassen on New Zealand *Women's Weekly* cover (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

Other interviews followed in the *Waikato Times*, *Auckland Star*, and *New Zealand Herald*. The group performed in Hamilton and at the Lachland Ball, the Orange Ballroom, Eden Roskill War Memorial Hall, Intercontinental Hotel, and Town Hall in Auckland (Jonassen 30 Oct 1976:14-15). On 23 August, Betela Dance Troupe started a tour of the North Island.

Final destination: Timberland, capital of Aitutaki, commonly known as Tokoroa. At the teams disposal was a mini bus, land rover, and a car. From the beginning the minibus gave trouble: the base drum fell off just past Hastings, she went out of juice 10 miles out from Tokoroa,[65] and she crashed into a mini [car] in Rotorua. Based in Rotorua, the Betela Dance Troupe took daily travels to put up nightly shows in various centres: Taupo, Kawerau home of John Rowles, Tauranga, Rotorua, Murupara, Taupo, Horohoro,[66] and again in Tokorua (Jonassen 30 Oct 1976:14-15).

The Betela Dance group even participated in the 1969 protest march in Auckland, leading thousands of protestors against the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia.

Betela Dance Team members Anne, Lily, and Muriel, now popularly known in the Cook Islands, Tahiti, and Japan as the dancing Jonassen Sisters, made another tour of Japan mixing in with Maeva Tahiti dancers. In principle, the 1970 Japan tour was listed as a sixth tour for Betela and a turning point to greater success (Jonassen 6 Nov 1976:14-15). It led to the seventh tour for Betela, its most ambitious.

The seventh Betela Dance Troupe tour (Namegawa 1971) began in April and covered Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Samoa, and Fiji. It was the biggest show as yet from the Cook Islands to leave the Southern Hemisphere. The team reported to the Cook Islands that

nearly 100% of the people we meet in Japan have never even heard of the Cook Islands. But its three months since we have been here and nearly 6,000 people a day come to Namegawa Island and you can be sure that they depart with a fair amount of knowledge about the Cook Islands and New Zealand,

FIGURE 44
Betela Dance Team dancers at Taupo Lake, New Zealand, 1969 (L-R): Poko Brown, Dora Evans (née Jonassen), Lily Jonassen, Anne Jonassen, Muriel Jonassen, Teta Reva? (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

and honestly you can be proud of the boys and girls for they are doing their best as ambassadors of our country (Jonassen 6 Nov 1976:14-15).

The troupe appeared on several television shows and performed for Japan's Crown Prince and Princess Mikasa. Betela's casualty list for 1971 read as follows: Wilson Fiji Snowball – sprained leg, sprained back, strained voice, sore eyes; Andrew Andrew – sprained leg, overworked heart; Ota Tuaeu – sore tooth, bitten by a snake, bitten by a monkey, bitten by a peacock; Teinakore Tuakeu – sprained wrist, knee ache, strained voice, sprained ankle; and Jon Jonassen – fire burns, tooth ache, strained voice (Jonassen 6 Nov 1976:14-15). Clearly, the boys were working hard. The troupe also toured Osaka, Kyoto,[67] and Hokkaido.

[67] The old capital of Japan for almost 1,100 years. Team members saw the Golden Pavilion, the Imperial Coronation Hall famous in the Tokugawa Shogunate Era, and some of the 2,000+ Buddhist temples and holy shrines.

FIGURES 45A, B & C
Betela Dance Troupe returning to Rarotonga after six months in Japan, 1971.

FIGURE 45A
(L-R) Maria Paruru, Pauline Tangi, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Mama Lily Jonassen, Lily Jonassen, Anne Jonassen, Zelma Nooroa.

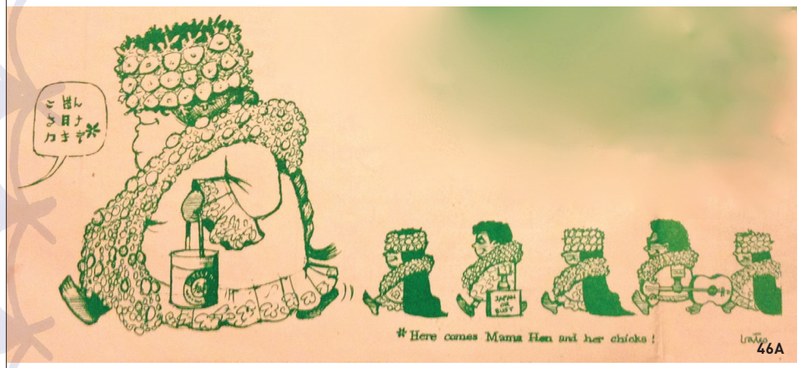
FIGURE 45B
(L-R) Clara Tetupu, Lily Jonassen, and Pauline Tangi.

FIGURE 45C
Betela Dance Troupe returning home to Rarotonga, Rarotonga airport reception area, 1975: (L-R) Anne Jonassen (with camera), Muriel Jonassen, and part of the reception group: Rena Ariki Jonassen, Geoffrey Henry (Cabinet Minister), Taru Moana (Member of Parliament), and Tuaine Aue holding Melina Jonassen (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

45A

45B

45C



46A

On 16 March 1972, while most Cook Islanders were preparing to cast their votes for the general elections, 15 Betela Dance Troupe members flew to Fiji. At Nadi Airport, Mrs Here Allen, a Cook Islander now residing in Fiji, welcomed the team. Airport officials remembered the group from the 1971 tour, and members could not leave the terminal without performing. All the equipment was in the storage except one ukulele. In order not to let the Cook Islands down, they pounded four chairs with rocks and sticks. A crowd gathered, everyone shouted with joy, and even the serious looking policemen tapped their toes. From Fiji, the group boarded a DC8 Air New Zealand plane for Auckland. Friends, relations, and *New Zealand Herald* and *Auckland Star* newspaper reporters met the group beyond Customs. From Auckland, the team flew to Sydney, Manila, Hong Kong, and shared the flight to Taipei with the Australian Bee Gees and the English singer Lulu. In the middle of a typhoon, they landed in Japan: home for the next six months (Jonassen 15 Nov 1976:14-15).

[68] The youngest Cook Islands Māori dancer to perform in Japan.

FIGURE 46A
Comic illustration by the famous cartoonist Bates: Betela Dance Troupe returning to Japan for another tour (L-R) Mama Teina Lily Jonassen, Anne Jonassen, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Lily Ariki Jonassen, Wilson Fiji Snowball, Muriel Jonassen (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 46B
Tutai Tepa, Tapu Tapurau, Cathy Utia, Diya Moana Nicholas-Taripo, Melina Jonassen (2 years old),[68] Andra Jonassen, on the road in Japan, 1976 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

46B

In 1972, an average of 10,000 people a day visited Namegawa Island to escape from the cities and to see the attractions offered (Namegawa 1972), including Betela Dance Troupe.[69] The troupe dominated the Pacific Islands dancing scene every year and appeared in many television and movie programs, such as Episode 61 of *Karmenrider* (Japan's version of a super hero who scours the earth fighting evil forces that are trying to conquer the earth):

> *It is dusk, the air menacingly cold, and clouds darken as the sun disappears. Suddenly out of the soil, huge greenish-white mushrooms spring up swallowing every moving man, woman, and child in sight. Screams, shouts, cries and whistles. The audience watching the Betela Dance Troupe show scrambles for safety as the monster moves forward. Some escape, others are mercilessly eaten. While mushrooms grow out of nowhere, in the ground the Betela Dance Troupe show is still in progress, unaware of what is happening. People were dying everywhere. Blood spilled and hearts pounding at this new menace. Question: Will Betela Dance Troupe escape this certain death? Answer: There is only one hope – Karmen Rider (Jonassen 27 Nov 1976:14-15).*

Karmenrider arrived to save the Betela Dance Troupe.

Betela Dance Troupe had major parts on various leading Japanese channels, starting in 1972 with the *Playgirls*, the top spy thriller on Channel 12.[70] Their plot for Namegawa Island included lots of action, six murders, the *Peanuts Show* (a popular singing duet of twins, and an hour-long performance by the Betela Dance Troupe (Jonassen 27 Nov 1976:14-15).

Karmenrider was the third television program for Betela performers followed closely by *Seishun wo Tsuppashire,* involving a young volleyball team staying in Namegawa Island where unusual incidents occurred. The main actor fell in love with a Cook Islands showgirl. Some Betela members put a few Rarotongan words into their acting parts. Four major television shows, followed: *Kerikiya Ken Chan*, *Barome 1*, *Henshin ninjaarashi*, and *Cooking of the World*. The action varied from monsters to singing, sport, weddings, and cooking (Jonassen 27 Nov 1976:14-15).

The ninth tour of Betela Dance took them to Tahiti, Moorea, Bora Bora, Raiatea, and Tahaa in 1972. In Papeete, they stayed with Tau and Alfred Estall and later rented a house in Tipaerui. Famous from previous visits, they revived enthusiasm. All the local hotels hired the group, including for the inaugural Tahiti Tane Contest, for the most beautiful bikini-wearing man (Jonassen 4 Dec 1976:14-15). When local Tahitian dance group leaders, particularly Madeleine Moua, pushed for the formation of a Tahitian dance team union focused on protecting local groups and preventing hotels from hiring visiting groups,[71] Betela Dance Troupe travelled to the outer islands: Moorea, Borabora, and Raiatea. "The Raiatea crowd was so excited, that the drums could not even be heard . . . . From Raiatea, the group went on to [the island of] Tahaa, touring by boat. Even people who came to watch the [Betela Dance Troupe] show did so, by canoe and boats" (Jonassen 4 Dec 1976:14; for Raiatea show program, see Appendix 3 of this chapter). Returning to Tahiti, they boarded the Matson Line *Monterey* to return to Rarotonga.

In 1973, Betela Dance Troupe undertook its tenth tour (Namegawa 1973), which included Japan, Nauru, Pohnpei, and Guam. Comedian Bob Hope invited Betela Dance Troupe to tour the United States, but Nauru's President Hammer deRoburt had made a special request for the troupe to perform at his daughter's wedding.[72] The then Secretary to Nauru's President was Cook Islander Cookie Sadaraka; thus, the choice of Nauru had priority. The President sent an Air Nauru plane to uplift Betela Dance Troupe from Kagoshima, Japan and transported its members to Nauru via a host of islands in Micronesia. It was a unique experience of culture exchange and island generosity. The few weeks Betela spent on Nauru were interesting, particularly their custom of puputi: guests come to the wedding to fetch rather than to give gifts[73] (Jonassen 4 Dec 1976:14).

The eleventh tour of Betela Dance Troupe extended from Japan (Namegawa 1974) to Singapore. Six months at Namegawa Island included excursions to various parts of the country. By the next two tours to Japan (Namegawa 1975 and Namegawa 1976), Internal Affairs Minister Tupui Ariki Henry described Betela as the sixteenth star on the Cook Islands flag. Betela Dance Troupe continued the annual international travel to 1982, accumulating an impressive 19 tours, of which 14 included Namegawa in Japan as the main destination.[74] The show maintained its magical choreography with new items and new members but many original Betela members moved on to pursue other careers. Most maintained their involvement in Cook Islands dance performances with some contributing tremendously to the formation of new groups.

BETELA DANCE TROUPE NEXUSES WITH OTHER TEAMS

Muriavai Dance Team

After touring New Zealand in 1966 with the Rarotonga Festival label, Tumupu Tumupu returned home to establish Muriavai Dance Team, which continued to perform many items of the original Betela Youth Club repertoire. The team performed on Rarotonga for several years and toured Tahiti for eight months

[69] Other attractions include shows by peacocks, flamingoes, Japan taiko *drums, and a crowded zoo, swimming pools, and pottery painting house. The Betela Dance Troupe was, however, the main attraction (Jonassen 20 Nov 1976:14-15).*

[70] At that time, Japan had 14 television channels.

[71] That was also around the same period that Paulette Vienot hired Turepu Turepu as artistic director to teach her Royal Tahitian Dance Company dancers Cook Islands dance and drum techniques.

[72] Letter to Betela Dance Troupe leader Anne Jonassen signed by Bob Hope making the offer in the 1970s (Jonassen family files). The Betela success in Nauru paved the way for later visits to Nauru by the popular singer Jake Numanga and the Rarotonga Nui Dance Team.

[73] After the glamorous wedding, nothing movable was left, not even spoons. The guests had taken everything.

[74] Betela Dance Troupe toured Japan annually for six more years, but this author left the team in 1976, and unfortunately, no one maintained the group travel record details and news reports.

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FIGURE 47
Betela Dance Troupe with Peanut Show (Japan's singing twin Ito sisters): (kneeling L-R) Teinakore Tuakeu, Mataio Nielson, Pita Monga, (standing L-R) Clara Tetupu, Terai Tapurau, Muriel Jonassen, Emi Ito, Anne Jonassen, Yumi Ito, Lily Ariki Jonassen, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Pauline Tangi, Zelma Nooroa, and Tutai Tepa, Namegawa Island, 1972 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 48
Betela Dance Troupe in a TV baseball drama, Namegawa Island, 1972: (sitting L-R) Mataio Nielson, Pita Monga, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Teinakore Tuakeu, Wilson Fiji Snowball, (standing L-R) Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Pauline Tangi, *Seishun wo Tsuppashire* actor, Lily Ariki Jonassen, *Seishun wo Tsuppashire* main star, Anne Jonassen, *Seishun wo Tsuppashire* actor, Muriel Jonassen, Terai, Zelma Nooroa, Tutai Tepa (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 49
Betela Dance Troupe on NHK TV Cooking Show: (Cook Islanders L-R) Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Andrew Andrew (pahu mangō), Ruta Tare (pātē tini), Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen (pātē taki), Muriel Jonassen, Lily Jonassen (next to Jon), Louis Tauira (pātē takirua), Kauraka Kauraka (pahu), Cathy Utia, and Anne Jonassen. Japanese guests taste Cook Islands Māori ika mata (raw fish) made by Betela members, 1976 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

1972-1973. Their hosts developed a Tahitian group, named Feti'a, that emulated many Betela dances, songs, and choreography. Muriavai Dance Team returned to Rarotonga and continued to perform in local shows before disbanding toward the end of the 1980s. Tumupu Tumupu continued to make major national contributions to Cook Islands culture as an instructor and culture officer in the Ministry of Cultural Development and as a member of community-based traditional leaders in Arorangi.

Ta'akoka Dance Team

The events leading to the breakaway New Zealand tour team also marked the later emergence of Ta'akoka dance team, with talented Tereora College teacher Turepu Turepu at its centre. His sisters, Vaine Turepu and Tuaine Turepu, had been part of the Betela Youth Club tour to Tahiti in 1965, and they became a mainstay in Ta'akoka in the early 1970s. As drummers and musicians from Betela often played with Ta'akoka, they were influenced by Betela style and their early shows emulated those of Betela. Notable drummer Teinakore 'Tinā' Tuakeu transferred many of Betela's beats — most of them originating from two tumu kōrero (historians) Temu Marsters[75] and Ben Ellis.[76]

Eitiare Dance Team

Jon Jonassen (this author and a founding member of Betela) and his wife Diya Moana Nicholas-Taripo (a member of Betela from 1971 to 1976) parted from Betela toward the end of 1976 and formed their dance team called Eitiare Dance team (Simpson 1979:116-119). They adopted the Betela dance format but created new musical songs, drum beats, and dances to incorporate into the stage presentation. Eitiare members included George George, Kauraka Kauraka, Banaba Banaba, Lily Nicholas, Mamu Nicholas, Louisa Taira Rere, and Tutu Taira Rere. The group had a new approach to the staging, also arranging with Trailways Hotel that door takings belonged to the group while the hotel acquired its profits from bar drinks. The stage show was recorded live and publicly released: another first. Eitiare recruited members from Arorangi and Avarua, and rehearsals were conducted at the Latter Day Saints chapel hall in Avarua. The group was very active for over a year and was offered a contract to go to the United Kingdom, but Jon Jonassen (this author) took up a scholarship to return to university studies. In 1978, he left to attend Brigham Young University in Hawai'i.

[75] Temu Marsters lived in Vaiakura (or Betela) with his family and was a foundation member of the Betela Youth Club. Some of his children joined the Betela Dance Team and were important performers in the team's tours of Tahiti (1965) and New Zealand (1969).

[76] Ben Ellis was an established composer, choreographer, dance instructor, and performer from Manihiki. His activities centred mostly on Manihiki performances at the annual national dance competitions, but he occasionally shared his talents with the Betela Dance Team. He noted that Betela had team performers with direct genealogical links to Manihiki, including the team 'father' Michael William Jonassen.

FIGURE 50
Eitiare Dance Team (L-R): Lily Nicholas, Banaba Banaba, Ruta Pokomaki, Diya Nicholas-Taripo, Louisa Taira Rere, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Tutu Taira Rere, Ana Maeva, Kauraka Kauraka with young supporters (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 51
Eitiare Dance Team (L-R): Louisa Taira Rere, Tutu Taira Rere, Diya Nicholas Taripo, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Ruta Pokomaki, Melina Jonassen, Arorangi Beach, Rarotonga, 1977 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURES 52A, B, C, D & E
Eitiare audio tapes: **A** Aipo, **B** Cooks Tour, **C** Ei Tiare, **D** Groupe Eitiare, **E** Rama (photos: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

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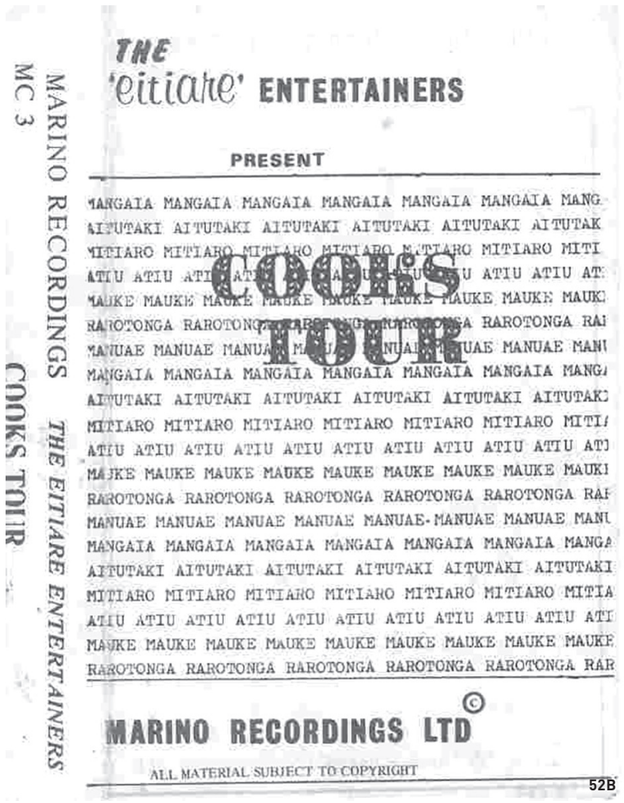
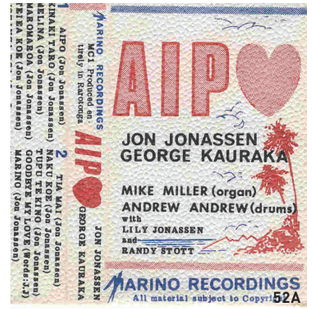


52B



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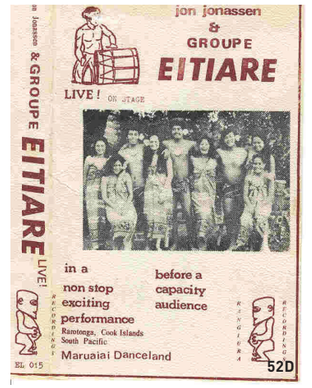

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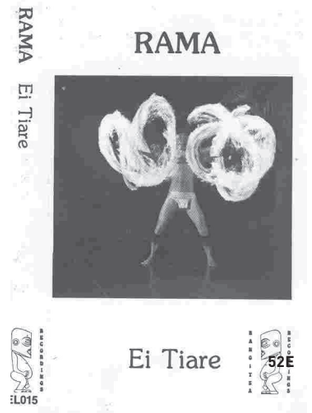

52E

Tumu Te Varovaro
In the late 1980s, two former Betela members Maurangi Raina and his wife Tutai Tepa formed their own dance team, Tumu Te Varovaro. Maurangi and Tutai were members of Betela Dance Troupe when it toured Japan (1975) and Fiji (1975). Maurangi began his performing career with Betela as a young novice but quickly developed to become one of the outstanding male dance champions in the Cook Islands. Their group Tumu Te Varovaro performed for several years on Rarotonga and was a highlight at Rarotonga Hotel's weekly island night. Other priorities later emerged for Maurangi and Tutai, and they disbanded their dance team.

Te Puna Korero Dance Team
Clara Tetupu, another Betela dancer, created with her husband Teina the outstanding Te Puna Korero dance team in Atiu. Their group dominated dance presentations in Atiu for many years and won two major national Kapa Nui competitions in Rarotonga. In 1998, Te Puna Korero represented the Cook Islands in a widely acclaimed tour of China. Te Puna Korero continued to perform on Atiu and Rarotonga until Teina tragically passed away while fishing for a community fundraising activity.

Rarotonga Nui Dance Team
Lily Ariki Jonassen (a founding member of Betela Dance team) and her husband Andrew Andrew (a Betela member from 1971 to 1980) left Betela Dance Troupe in the early 1980s and formed their own Rarotonga Nui Dance Team. They continued with their own version of the Betela legacy but capitalized on their unique musical abilities. When Betela Dance Troupe took a break, Muriel Jonassen joined her sister Lily, and Rarotonga Nui took over the Namegawa Island production in Japan, and maintained a presence there for several years. In 1987, Rarotonga Nui toured New Caledonia and contributed to the 40th anniversary of the South Pacific Commission (now the Secretariat of the Pacific Community), a 27 country-member organization that has served the wider Pacific (SPC 1987). Many heads of governments, as well as large crowds, witnessed the outstanding Cook Islands performances.

Other members of the Betela Dance Team or Betela Dance Troupe continued their dance and music activities when they left the team. Teinakore Sammy Unuia (Betela member in 1960s) moved to New Zealand and was very active in Atiu and Cook Islands live performance cultural activities in Auckland until his death in 2014. Wilson Fiji Snowball (Betela member from the 1960s to 1970s) left Betela but continued his legacy as a gifted singer, passing it on to his offspring. Ruta Tare (Betela member in the 1970s) returned to Aitutaki to become a leader in the island's cultural performances and continues to take part in its performance tours to Rarotonga and elsewhere. In Australia, Mataio Nielson and his wife formed an outstanding dance team that became a highlight in many Cook Islands social and ceremonial events before disbanding. Pita Monga, a particularly gifted musician, became part of a new band in Aitutaki, performed for many years, and then migrated to Rarotonga and continues to perform.

The Betela Youth Club, which had become Betela Dance Troupe, toured Asia for more than 25 years, becoming the most successful Cook Islands dance team in Cook Islands history. From Betela emerged many other groups both in and beyond the Cook Islands. Betela influenced the reduction of team members to around 15, the introduction of stands for drummers, the presentation of a non-stop performance consisting of various items, and constant changes of costuming in one show. Betela dancers lowered the skirt from around the stomach to the hips, which caused uproar among churchgoers on Rarotonga. Betela drummers developed the technique of one drummer simultaneously playing both the pa'u (bass drum) and pātē taki (lead drum), and one player playing both the pa'u mangō (shark's skin drum) and pātē aka'oro (double play wooden gong). The group's format of ending the show with signature beats was also emulated widely. Betela merged and promoted modern, creative staging approaches with traditional dances, songs, and words. They reintroduced the use of fire in the stage performance, through torchlights, fire dance, fire walk, and fire candles.

FIGURE 53
Rarotonga Nui Dance Team in Noumea, 1987 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 54
After the Betela Dance Troupe performance in Fiji, Prince Charles walked to the performers and kissed all the Betela dancing girls, including Diya Nicholas-Taripo. It caused a sensational media frenzy because until then the Prince did not kiss in public (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

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Betela reintroduced and developed the concept of performing amidst the audience, by outlining an imaginary stage with torches, or approaching the stage through as many corners of the building as possible. A performance for the wedding celebration of Nauru President Hammer deRoburt's daughter saw several members of the audience frantically jump through open windows trying to escape a perceived fire approaching them — an act that added humour for the audience, who knew the frightened local heroes and understood their mistaken premise. Packed houses of primary and secondary school students on Raiatea and Huahine in French Polynesia were overjoyed, dancing to the rhythms of the Betela performers telling the Cook Islands story of Ina, Tinirau, and the turtle ride and the Aitutaki story of land crab hunters riding on horses. Betela Dance Troupe performed in over 5,000 shows and hundreds of television and movie productions. The group was sought after by many theme park institutions, including by Bob Hope, on behalf of Disney World. It represented Japan at the World Expo held in Okinawa in 1974. Betela performed for the royal families of Japan and England on more than one occasion.

They toured throughout the Southern Cook Islands, French Polynesia (including Tahiti, Moorea, Raiatea), Japan (throughout the country), Nauru, Fiji, New Zealand, and other places. For many years in Japan, all train stations in Japan (numbering in the thousands), carried posters of Betela Dance Troupe. The fan club in Japan for the Cook Islands team was impressive. Annual pamphlets of the group always sold out. The group consistently carried its Cook Islands identity on and off stage, and performances were always at least 90% Cook Islands Māori material. The group actively maintained a close association

"Betela influenced the reduction of team members to around 15, the introduction of stands for drummers, the presentation of a non-stop performance consisting of various items, and constant changes of costuming in one show. Betela dancers lowered the skirt from around the stomach to the hips, which caused uproar among churchgoers on Rarotonga."

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with Cook Islands communities and especially those in Aitutaki, Puaikura, and Tutakimoa.[77] One of the group's most outstanding features was its constant effort to stay committed to a dynamic relationship between the performers and the audience, and the importance of the story being told in a variety of ways.

DANCE AND THE POWER OF WORDS

In Cook Islands traditional dance, storytelling incorporates poetic sounds and expressions, such as aaninga (continuous act of wooing), a-e (great pleasure), a-ai (adored one), a-a-oki-a (ending of a poem), a-i-e (great expectations), or aoa tamaki (war cry). The power of these words and expressions adds to the aka-araara'anga (chant to awaken), akateni (eulogy), akateniteni (old time war-cry), aka (haka), amu (epic heroic poem), or apare (lament at death). Before the arrival of Christianity, songs were laments; now, they are hymns (Savage 1962:32). The apare-eva (singing or chanting of comforting songs after the burial of a deceased person) now involves fewer body movements during the actual events, but the memory and the power of vernacular words still emerge in other performances.

Various dances are held as an integral part of apeapetini (entertainments and ceremonies). Some of these dances and events are the are-ka'a-mavete (ancient festival) celebrated during the month of January, ia-toa (warrior's pageant), imo (tribal dances), and rere-taki (war dance). In the past, even the tako (recitation by the high priest), and the tare (incantation before partaking of food) involved body motions sacred to the gods.

In the past, traditional Māori dance and music items were performed at the aka-enua (hospitality event for a voyaging chief claiming blood rights to the lands), epaepa (consecration or honouring ceremony), aka-ururu (high chief investiture), and the miriaia (season-of-plenty festival). The pa'u-aka-ariki (ceremonial investiture drum) sounded, the pu-aka-ariki (investiture royal trumpet) was heard, and the po-araara-marae (night of religious thanksgiving observations on the sacred ground) would awaken the ancestors. At other times, people held a po-kai (feasting night), pokai-tiroa (tribal feast), pokai-tapini (tribal feast to entertain visitors), or simply po-roro (special day for a haircut). The takura-tapu (sacred festival for the procession of gods) usually included a takurua (great feast held at a special occasion), where people brought the first fruits of their respective lands. The tarakai (festival) was a day of rejoicing, and modernized versions of both the takurua and the tarakai and their accompanying variety of dances and costumes continue as part of many Cook Islands tribal activities.

DANCE COSTUMES

For their dance costumes today, Cook Islands Māori performers still use various seashells, coconut fibres, leaves, bark, seeds, and flowers of all varieties. Performers select their costume based on the theme of the story being told and the time constraints surrounding the presentation. The creative talents of the costume specialist, choreographer, and instructor have become more influential over time.

The costumes of both men and women focus on the hip, chest, neck, arms, wrists, ankles, and head. The materials used for both sexes might be similar, but the preparation effort and expected finesse is much greater for women's costumes. The women's costumes incorporate a hip skirt that is longer than that of the men, a frontal body cover, neck and head 'ei (garland, band) of flowers, seeds, leaves, shells, or woven materials, and additional decorative objects that enhance the presentation.

The tribal island groups are recognized by their choices of materials, which reflect cultural traditions and lifestyles. Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Tongareva dancers use pearls, pearl shells, and finely woven materials. Dancers from Atiu, Ma'uke, and Mitiaro rely more on leaves, fresh flowers, coconut fibres, and wild hibiscus bark to enhance their performances. Pukapuka and Aitutaki add unique colour mixes. Rarotonga incorporates traditional costumes, outer island influences, and introduced modern materials. Female dancers' use of the coconut bra started in the mid-1970s.

Many costumes are unique to the Cook Islands. A selective list includes the titi, which is worn by women dancers. The titi is made of colourful leaves that are evenly and closely woven to about six to ten inches in thickness and used to encircle the dancer's hips. Another costume for the hips is the pāreu kiri'au, which is made from soaked and peeled wild hibiscus bark. The treated bark is shredded and stitched at one end while allowing a loose length to hang at the opposite end. The loose side hangs to the knees (for men) or past the knees (for women). When raffia is used instead of wild hibiscus, the skirt is called a kemo.

Used by both men and women, the pāreu kiri'au is made from the leaves of the coconut palm, with the midrib of each single leaf removed. Each leaf is then hung over a string and stitched together at the top end, allowing the bottom end to be free. A woven coconut-leaf band is attached at the top and the skirt is ready for use. Some performers will shred the hanging leaves to make it more free-flowing when performing.

Pāreu kaka'u is a general term for contemporary cloth sarongs, which both male and female performers use in a variety of ways. Traditionally, people made sarongs from the bark of the breadfruit tree, wild hibiscus, or other special plants. However, the availability of various imported materials has made cloth sarongs a popular costume for all performers. Men and women use maro (loinclothing) made from a variety of natural materials. Other important costuming gear or rakei (decorations) include the 'ei katu (headband), 'ei kaki (garland), tamaka kiri'au (traditional shoes), tapa (bark cloth), and tapeka (tie). Tātatau (tattooing) has re-emerged as an important aspect of a dancer's body decoration, and many performing groups incorporate various traditional tattoos in their story line. In the Cook Islands, the costuming of performers is only limited by time constraints, material availability, and the imagination of dance instructors, choreographers, and costume designers. Although costumes enhance the performance, it is the dance itself at the core of the story that appeals directly to the audience.

[77] A special relationship was established between the people who lived near the Betela meeting house located in Arorangi, and the people associated with the Betela meeting house located in Tutakimoa, where many Manihiki people and outer islanders resided. During the 1960s youth club period, exchange visits occurred between the two 'Betela centres' to play card games. Talented Manihiki dancer Pauline Tangi, who resided in Tutakimoa, became a key performer in the Betela Dance Troupe and made several tours to Japan in the 1970s. The involvement of Ben Ellis in Betela items was another extension of the relationship.

FIGURE 55
Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Muriel Jonassen, Lily Jonassen, and Anne Jonassen among the famous flamingoes of Namegawa Island, Japan, 1970s (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

FESTIVALS

Maire Maeva Nui, held on the main island of Rarotonga, is the largest annual Cook Islands secular festival.[78] The event usually occurs around 4 August but might happen six weeks or so later. Known also as Te Maeva Nui, the festival has highlighted the country's constitution and free association (political relationship) with New Zealand since the Cook Islands achieved self-governing status in 1965. Groups representing various islands and districts in the nation gather to perform and participate. Maire Maeva Nui festivals include the post-colonial concepts of parades and flag-raising, and they include the time-honoured traditions of singing, drumming, and dancing competitions that were once performed in 'are karioi. Cook Islanders view Maire Maeva Nui as a festival demonstrating dynamic talent in Māori culture. A major focus is on the imene tuki, imene pupu (choir), 'ūtē, pe'e, kaparima, and 'ura pa'u. These are considered displays of tribal pride, with intense competition for the status of being the best in each section.

Kapa Nui (dance festival) involves dance group competitions centred on a 20-minute non-stop performance by no more than 20 performers, who must include unique 'ura pa'u, kaparima and 'ura penu. Initiated by the Ministry of Cultural Development in 1990, Kapa Nui highlighted hotel performances in an effort to offer new creative opportunities for potential composers, costume designers, and choreographers. It was a contest for professional and semi-professional teams to compete based more on overall performance and audience appreciation than on singular items and technical perfection. Kapa Nui tried to ensure consistently high standards for groups performing in hotels, and group claims of being the best could be measured by annual rankings in a national competition. For winning the 1998-1999 Kapa Nui, Te Puna Korero from Atiu accompanied Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Arama Henry to China, collected a large cash prize, and gained bragging rights for that year. Though widely popular, Kapa Nui has not been held in recent years — a reflection of fewer professional dance teams, the loss of population through out-migration, and diminished enthusiasm from organizers.

Mire Kapa (dancer of the year) focuses on individual talents. Such individual dancing talent competitions have roots in pre-Christian events. Suppressed at the advent of Christianity, aspects continued underground, in some activities linked to tumu nu (bush beer) gatherings. Mire Kapa re-emerged in the open in the 1960s under the label Dancer of the Year. Men and women in different categories compete in fast and slow dances preceded by short chants. Winners are widely admired, as are outstanding drummers in the Tangi Ka'ara (drumming festival) that spotlights traditional beats and contemporary creations.

Vaka Eiva (canoe festival) focuses on canoes, and the Cook Islands have a rich tradition in this area. Both ocean voyaging and local canoe races are common in Cook Islands Māori oral history. The most known is the race between two early settlers of Rarotonga, Tangiia and Karika, to divide the island between them. There are other stories of races from Rarotonga to Atiu and from other islands. Model canoe races were popular in Aitutaki up to the 1950s. Vaka Eiva as it is presently constituted is a more recent concept that captures the already established canoe spirit. Encouraged mainly by tourism interests and local carvers, particularly master carver Michael Tavioni, it has re-emerged over the past ten years as an important international event in Rarotonga. Small, traditional canoes are built over a designated time period, and various sailing events take place. Drumming and dancing usually accompany the celebratory portions of the canoe festival events.

[78] The terms Miri'a'a and Maire Nui are ancient Cook Islands Māori terms for festivals. While Miri'a'a is now not often used, Maire Nui reemerged during the Festival of Pacific Arts hosted by the Cook Islands in 1992, and it is a popular term among the Māori.

Tiare (flower) Festival, held in December, offers public parades and other events that celebrate blossoms of the land and sea. Private businesses and public agencies decorate their premises. The highlight is the Miss Tiare beauty pageant. Unlike the Miss Cook Islands beauty pageant, which is held earlier in the year, Miss Tiare focuses on teenage beauty. Both spectacles are new, but they have roots in the tribal queen competitions of the 1960s and in the vaka-pupu (presenting and parading of attractive girls) that existed prior to Christianity's arrival. Previously supported by chiefs and a competitive tribal spirit, the driving force now comes from leaders in tourism, churches, government, and tribes — advocates for both secular and religious festivals.

"Both spectacles are new, but they have roots in the tribal queen competitions of the 1960s and in the vaka-pupu (presenting and parading of attractive girls) that existed prior to Christianity's arrival."

Religious festivals include the annual **Nuku** to celebrate the coming of Christianity to the Cook Islands. It has some pre-Christian roots reminiscent of the ia (pageantry) or nuku enua (pageant involving the whole island), but the Nuku is now promoted primarily by the Cook Islands Christian Church. Village and island groups compete in telling stories based on chronicles of the Christian faith. Graceful or energetic dance movements in the form of 'ura akamori or 'ura akapa'apa'a are performed to convey the theme of the narrative.

Another religious festival is **Turama** (All Souls Day), particularly commemorated by members of the Roman Catholic faith. Leading up to 1 November, people elaborately decorate graves of loved ones with flowers and candles, and on 1 November, the Catholic Church holds graveside mass. Such honouring of ancestors is not new to Cook Islanders: they often kept the bodies and bones of ancestors within the home and remembered ancestors in public rituals. Since the arrival of Christianity, Cook Islanders have often buried loved ones right next to their family homes. In pre-Christian times, dances often accompanied the honouring of ancestors, but such traditional sacred dance practices do not appear in modern-day Turama festivals.

The most recently added festival in the Cook Islands is **Ra Ariki** or Ariki Day, incorporated into the nation's list of annual holidays and special events beginning in 2012. It was a governmental effort to acknowledge the important role of traditional chiefs in Cook Islands Māori society by making time to focus on each and all of the ariki of the nation. The three districts on Rarotonga (Takitumu, Te-Au-O-Tonga, and Puaikura) take turns to host the event. On 4 July 2014, all of the ariki of the Cook Islands descended upon the district of Te-Au-O-Tonga to be received by the people of the hosting Makea Nui Ariki and Makea Vakatini Ariki. Each ariki was carried on pa'ata (ceremonial platform) amidst much traditional fanfare from a historically significant point of the district to the elected main event area. Much traditional chanting, reciting of genealogy, singing, dancing, speech making, and drumming have occurred throughout the day. It all begins with a prayer and ends with traditional food and a final prayer.

Festivals continue to be adapted because they remain the preferred channels for sharing cultural values, enjoying music, and strengthening intergenerational family and tribal connections. Cook Islanders do not see the sharing of cultures as a 'giving away of culture' but as a precious memory, marking a historical event. Costumes for dances might change as themes for performances adapt to changing times, but the spirit in which performances are presented maintains an inspiring grass-roots enthusiasm. The hand and body movements continue to tell the story, as Cook Islanders continue to value music and dancing as integral parts of their lives.

APPENDIX 1
TA'INGA'URU TAVIRI A'I
TEN FIRE SPINNING TECHNIQUES

1. Oro te Ra kia Maui, i rotopu kape katau (sun runs to Maui in the centre evading rightward) – Single circle O (spinning in rapid succession revolving rightward with two hands coordinating in front centre of the body, one hand in control with the other in support).
2. Oro te Ra kia Maui, i rotopu kape kaui (sun runs to Maui in the centre evading leftward) – Single circle O (spinning in rapid succession revolving leftward with two hands coordinating in the front centre of the body, one hand in control with the other in support).
3. Oro te Ra ki te Itinga o te katau (sun runs to the East on the right hand side) – Single circle O (spinning with the right hand revolving rightward, releasing the stick, and turning the wrist to catch the stick again before it falls). Repeat process in rapid succession.
4. Oro te Ra ki te Opunga o te kaui (sun runs to the West on the left hand side) – Single circle O (spinning with the left hand revolving leftward, releasing the stick, and turning the wrist to catch the stick again with the same hand). Repeat process in rapid succession.
5. Oro te Ra ki te Itinga kape ite katau (sun runs to the East evading on the right hand side) – Single circle O (spinning with the right hand revolving leftward, releasing the stick, and turning wrist to catch the stick again before it falls). Repeat process in rapid succession.
6. Oro te Ra ki te Opunga kape ite kaui (sun runs to the West evading on the left hand side) – Single circle O (spinning with the left hand revolving rightward, releasing the stick, and turning the wrist to catch the stick again with same hand). Repeat the process in succession.
7. Akamou te Itinga kite rima katau (Capture the East with the right hand) – Figure 8 outward (spinning with the right hand by twisting the wrists in a figure 8 leftward turning the wrist up to rightward, without releasing the fire stick, and going down, creating the first O of figure 8, and then coming up to complete the second O of figure 8). Repeat in rapid succession.
8. Akamou te Itinga kite rima kaui (Capture the West with the left hand) – Figure 8 inward (spinning with the left hand by twisting the wrists in a figure 8 leftward turning the wrist down to leftward, without releasing the fire stick, and going up, creating the first O of figure 8, and then coming up to complete the second O of figure 8). Repeat.
9. Akamou te Opunga kite rima katau tamou (Capture the East with the right hand secure) – Figure 8 outward (spinning with the right hand by twisting the wrists in a figure 8 rightward turning the wrist up to leftward, without releasing the fire stick, and going up creating the first O of figure 8, and then coming down to complete the second O of figure 8). Repeat in rapid succession. This is the reverse of (7).
10. Akamou te Opunga kite rima kaui tamou (Capture in the West with the left hand secure) – Figure 8 outward (spinning with the left hand by twisting the wrists in a figure 8 leftward to rightward, without releasing the fire stick), and repeating in rapid succession, (3) Figure 8 inward (spinning with one hand by twisting the wrists in a figure 8 rightward to leftward, without releasing the fire stick).

APPENDIX 2
AKAPAPA'ANGA 'URA A'I
FIRE DANCE ROUTINE

Performer: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – Betela Dance Troupe Night Show

Audience: 31,000 people. Namegawa Island, Japan. Golden Week, 1973

Rua Matipi a'i (Two Fire Knives) – Puaikura Routine

1. Lights out. Enter stage. Stand facing audience. Then toward assistant.
2. Assistant throws two fire knives vertical in succession high into the air toward performer: the hooked ends of both knives are already alight with fire upward and are thrown steady without knife spinning.
3. Jon catches each of the knives in rapid succession.
4. He swings both knives in front splashing excess gasoline in front of him, creating a fire on stage.
5. Standing behind or in front of the fire he outlines his body with the fire on both knives: upward and downward. As he crosses downward: he lights the other end of one of the knives.
6. He juggles the knives before lighting the other end of the second knife.
7. Hooks the knives together and swings it into the air. Uses knives skipping sideways and reversing. Moves across the stage. Knives are unhooked into the air and caught. Twirls one knife from under the other throwing into the air and catching. Reverse.
8. Jon squats placing both knives between his legs. He raises both hands into the air greeting audience.
9. As audience responds, he grabs both knives and stands: spins both knives creating two circles.
10. Then figure 8 while turning body by the hips sideways. Left and then right. Move across stage.
11. At centre stage: squat and place one knife under squat while spinning the other in perfect circle.
12. Gets up into two figure 8 twirls. Reverse figure 8 twirl while standing.
13. Throws one knife high into the air. Catches it and turns 360 degrees. Repeat opposite side.
14. Twirls left side while slicing through with fire on right side. Repeat with mirror opposite movements.
15. Both hands twirl two perfect fire rings. Move forward.
16. Change technique twirl to figure 8. Move back and toward right side of stage.
17. Does a forward flip landing on both feet with the head touching the ground but arching the body upward. The hands are used on each side for balance with the fires securely held in the hands.
18. Jon slides backward on the head while twirling two figure eights on each side, symbolizing a moving vehicle with fire wheels. Move across stage toward left side on an angle.

19. Jon stops, lays flat on the back, keeps the two feet stretched upward and places the fire on the soles of the feet. If needed, rest as appropriate and as long as can stand the heat on the feet.
20. Flick knives upward with the feet and quickly rise and catch the two fires, each in one hand.
21. Twirl two, figure 8, while moving side to side.
22. Change technique to a shoulder controlled figure 8 to create an imagery of two blossoming flower petals of fire (Jon's signature technique).
23. Stop suddenly and throw each of the knives successively to the assistant on the side of the stage.
24. The fires are turned out quickly: by the assistant, in full view of the audience.
25. Jon kneels on one knee facing audience, bowing. One hand in the air. End of performance. Lights on.

APPENDIX 3
BETELA DANCE TROUPE SHOW IN RAIATEA, 1972

First Half (1 hour)

26. Imene Pure (church hymn): Pu (conch shells blow)
27. Tamariki Betera – 'ura tamataora, rutu te pa'u (entertaining dance, play the drums)
28. 'Ura takita'i (females Individual, play drums & chant)
29. Curtain falls (background music)
30. Vaka o Ru (Ru's canoe) – Peu ta'ito (legend)
    i. Oe te Vaka – pe'e (chant)
    ii. Tu mai e oe – 'ura penu – 'ura 'oe (paddle dance)
    iii. Tangaroa – 'ura kaparima (action song)
    iv. Tereta – pe'e – (chant)
    v. Ngapuariki – kaparima (action song)
31. Honda Baby – 'ura tane (male drum dance)
32. Puti Puti (Ben Ellis/Anne Jonassen) – 'ura pa'u (drum dance from Manihiki)
33. Tia'i au (traditional Tahitian) – Imene 'Aka'inangaro (love song)
34. Kua Tia mai (composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen) – kaparima (slow)
35. Ngaipu Ngaitua (composed by Michael W. Jonassen) – kaparima (fast)
36. Mokora duck (composed by Papa George Karoponga) – boys drum dance from Manihiki
37. Ki mua (traditional) – (lead out with Tautai – drum dance)
38. Tu'e (composed by Ta'unga Aitutaki) – 'ura pa'u tāne (male drum dance)
39. Tautai (composed by Betela group members) – 'ura pa'u (drum dance)
40. Meite Pirikoki (composed by Temu Marsters – Ben Ellis) – 'ura pa'u (drum dance)

Second Half (1 hour) (special legend play during intermission – Tinirau)

1. Pu (conch shells blow)
2. Bedatru – 'ura tatakita'i – Individual entry and island style drum dance
3. Tupou (composed by Betela boys) – 'ura pa'u tane (male drum dance)
4. E whitu (traditional Māori) – New Zealand Māori action song
5. Tivarevare (composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen) / Meite Reo (Sonny Tetuairo) – kaparima (action song)
6. Coconut (beats composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen) – teeth husking. ('Ura penu)
7. O'oe (traditional) – kaparima marie (slow action song)
8. Drum sequence (arrangement by Jon T.M. Jonassen) – drum beats of the Cook Islands
9. Sasa – special traditional item from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands
10. Banana / Atavaivaro (traditional – Manihiki and Pukapuka) – 'ura pa'u tāne (male drum dance)
11. Taku Manu (Aitutaki action song) – 'ura penu
12. Haka Tangaroa (composed by Jon & Michael Jonassen) – 'ura tamaki (war dance)
13. 'Ura Turama (torch dance) – special dance by the female performers
14. 'Ura a'i (fire dance) – by Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen
15. Tiare Māori (composed by Michael W. Jonassen) – kaparima (action song)
16. 'Ura Takapuni (invitation) – individual styles with their guest performers.
17. Taviri (circle) – state projection of all dancers
18. Betela e (composed by Jon T.M. Jonassen) – imene tareva
19. Purotu Manea – 'ura kaparima (action song)
20. Te Takake (composed by Teata Makirere) – farewell song

"KIA ORANA !" (shout enthusiastically – all performers).

Source: Jon T.M. Jonassen records

APPENDIX 4
AKAPAPA'ANGA API'I 'URA
DANCE TRAINING METHOD

'Ei Tango no te Tauira (Foundation Steps for Students)

Taka'i'anga mua – First Step
Tū e te Tiratira – Stance and Balance:

1. **Tū tikatika o nga vaevae 'akavaitata: tapuae anga ki mua.**
   Stand upright, both feet almost together (about 3 inches apart), toes facing forward.
2. **'A'aere, eia'a rā e neke.**
   Walk on the spot.
3. **'A'aere, takirikiri to to'e kite katau kite kaui.**
   Walk on spot swaying hips continuously right and left.

Taka'i'anga rua – Second Step
Neke'anga Vaevae – Feet in motion:

4. **Tāki to nga po'o vaevae, eia'a rā e tāki i to au mangamanga vaevae.**
   Lift the heel without lifting the toes.
5. **'Aere ki mua, anga te kōpapa ki mua.**
   Walk forward, facing forward.
6. **Aere ki muri, anga te kōpapa ki mua.**
   Walk backward, facing forward.
7. **'Aere kite katau, anga te kopapa ki mua.**
   Walk sideways rightward, facing forward.
8. **'Aere kite kaui, anga te kōpapa ki mua.**
   Walk sideways leftward, facing forward.

Taka'i'anga toru – Third Step
Takaviri 'anga – Twisting:

9. **'Aere ma te takiri i te to'e, takaviri, e oti ta'oki kite teta'i tua (takiri marie).**
   Walk while swaying and pivot last motion before reverse (slow sway).

Ei Ketaketa Note Uaua (Warm up Exercise)

Tāmā'ana'ana Uaua (Muscle Warm-up):

1. **Tāmā'ana'ana kōpapa e toru miniti.**
   Warm-up fast beat. Three minutes swing on the spot.
2. **Neke kite kauī e 'ā tapuae.**
   Move to the left four steps.
3. **Neke kite katau e 'ā tapuae.**
   Move to the right four steps.
4. **Neke ki mua e 'ā tapuae.**
   Move forward four steps.
5. **Neke ki muri e 'ā tapuae.**
   Move backward four steps.

'Akatikatika Vaevae (Stretching Legs)

6. **Piko ki mua, 'akatika ra i tō nga turi vaevae.**
   Bend forward but keep knees straight.
7. **Tāki ite vaevae katau na runga i te turi kaui.**
   Place right foot above the left knee.
8. **Pātere i nga rima ki raro nāte pae i nga vaevae.**
   Slide hands along side of the legs.
9. **Neke i nga rima ki mua e oti tāmou e ta'i miniti.**
   Move the hands forward and hold the pose for a minute.
10. **'Atui i nga turi.**
    Bend the knees.
11. **Aka'ātea i nga vaevae, piko ki mua, 'akatoro nga rima ki mua, akatikatika, 'itae i te one.**
    Place the feet apart and bend forward stretching, touch hands to the ground.
12. **Tāpeka i nga rima ki rotopu, i mua. Tāki akaketaketa i nga rima ki muri.**
    Hands locked in-between. Hands stretched backwards.

Amingi'anga – Bending

13. **Tū tikatika, 'āmingi kite kauī, 'amingi kite katau.**
    Place the feet apart and bend sideways stretching, left then right
14. **'Amingi i te mokotua ki muri e oti 'amingi ki mua.**
    Keep feet apart, bend forward and then backward.

Ka 'Ura Tatou (Let's dance)

'Ura Mataora – Happy Dancing.

15. **'Ura viviki e toru miniti.**
    Fast sway for three minutes.
16. **'Ura 'akaparu e rua tākiri, e toru miniti.**
    Double step hip swing for three minutes.
17. **'Ura 'akaparu e ta'i tākiri, e toru miniti.**
    Single swing: for three minutes.
18. **'Ura takirua, kite kaui kite katau, e ono taime.**
    Rotate hips circular left to right and reverse, six times.
19. **'Ura tāviri a runga i te kōpapa kite kaui kite katau, e ono taime.**
    Dance, swinging the upper part of the body left and then right, six times.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen worked in the Public Service Commission, in the Ministry of External Affairs, and was Secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Cultural Development in the Cook Islands. He was Director of Programs and Acting Secretary General for the South Pacific Commission and, later, Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University–Hawai'i for twenty years. He was a member of the first electric band in the Cook Islands, named Blue Lagooners, performing in packing sheds across Rarotonga in the 1960s. He later became the drummer of the first Vagabonds Band with Apiti and Johnny, that played in the Vaikapuangi dance hall, and while attending school in New Zealand, accompanied his brother Rena Jonassen (lead guitar), playing rhythm guitar in clubs and pubs across Auckland. In 1976, he formed the Eitiare Dance Team with his wife Diya, and they released several recordings of live shows in Rarotonga.

Dr Jonassen plays string and percussion instruments and performed as a fire dancer in Japan for six years. While in Japan, he took up karate training in Shitoryu, Keishinkan, and Shintokai and earned black belts in all three styles and a master instructor certificate in two. He has travelled widely in the Pacific, Asia, and Europe and has worked in several countries, including Japan, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Hawai'i. In 2007, his drumming CD was nominated for the *Hoku Awards* in Hawai'i and his original song *Motukore* was third in a world song composers competition held in Hawai'i. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame Tangi Reka Awards in New Zealand in 2014. He is married to Diya Moana Nicholas-Taripo; they have four children and eleven grandchildren.

FIGURE 56
Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, Arorangi, Rarotonga, 2013 (photo: Jon T.M. Jonassen family collection).

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GLOSSARY

a-a-oki-a	ending of a poem
a-ai	adored one
a-e	great pleasure
a-i-e	great expectations
aaninga	continuous act of wooing
aka	dance accompanying the men's war chant
aka-araara'anga	chant to awaken
aka-enua	hospitality event for a voyaging chief claiming blood rights to the lands
akateni	eulogy, create a sound
akateniteni	old time war-cry
akatūtū	choreography
'Akatutu ite peu etene	enacting legends
aka-ururu	investiture
aka-ururu Ariki	high chief investiture
akapapa'anga 'ura a'i	fire dance routine
amu	epic heroic poem, melodious chants
aoa tamaki	war cry
apare	lamenting at death
apare-eva	singing or chanting comforting songs after burial of a deceased person
apeapetini	entertainments and ceremonies
api'ipi'i 'ura	dance training
are-ka'a-mavete	ancient festival
'are kariei	entertainment house (Rarotonga)
'are karioi	entertainment house (Aitutaki)
'are ta'unga	house of specialists
Bedatru	Betela Dance Troupe
e to'e paruparua	soft backside, outstanding female dancer
'ei	garland, band of flowers, seeds, leaves, shells, or woven materials
'ei kaki	garland
'ei katu	headband
epaepa	consecration or honouring ceremony
haka	dance accompanying the men's war chant
hupahupa	dance (Manihiki and Rakahanga style)
ia	pageantry
ia-toa	warrior's pageant
ika mata	raw fish
imene kaparima	song action song
imene pupu	choir
imene tuki	traditional hymn, melodious chant
imo	tribal dance
iuka	a competitive card game between teams of two or three players
ka'ara	unique sacred wooden gong
ka-ururu	high chief investiture
kama'atu	words of wisdom
kapa	body action or movement
Kapa Nui	dance festival
kapa rima	action song that accompanies and directs dances
kātā	"to kill" – a sequence of defensive movements
kātā 'ura tāmataora	self-defence type of entertaining dance
kemo	girdle of raffia
koni	dance (Aitutaki style)
koni akaau	dance to engage
koni pa'u	drum dance (Aitutaki)
koni pi'a	box dance (Aitutaki)
koni rore	stilt dance (Aitutaki)
koriro	wooden gong (Manihiki, Rakahanga)
lele	flying (Hawaiian)
Maire Nui	festival
māmā	respected older woman
māmaeata	plucking strings in an off-key fashion, early hours of the morning
maro	loincloth
matā 'ura	lead, usually best, dancers in a performance
Mire Kapa	dancer of the year
Miri'a'a	festival
miriaia	season-of-plenty festival
mu'umu'u	Mother Hubbard or long dress
Nga Pu Toru	Atiu, Ma'uke, Mitiaro
nuku	pageant
Nuku	annual pageant, held 26 October, to celebrate Christianity's arrival in the Cook Islands
nuku enua	pageant involving the whole island; traditional large full-scale performances
ori	dance (Atiu, Ma 'uke, Mitiaro style)
ove	wooden gong (Atiu)
Pa Enua Tokerau	Northern Cook Islands
Pa Enua Tonga	Southern Cook Islands
pa'ata	ceremonial carry platform
pahu	skin bass drum (Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva)
pahu mangō	skin (traditionally, shark skin) drum (Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva)
pāreu kaka'u	contemporary cloth sarong
pāreu kemo	skirt of raffia

> ***Festivals continue to be adapted because they remain the preferred channels for sharing cultural values, enjoying music, and strengthening intergenerational family and tribal connections.***

pāreu kika'u	skirt of coconut palm leaves
pāreu kiri'au	skirt of wild hibiscus bark
pātē	wooden drum, slit gong (Rarotonga style)
pātē aka'oro	fast double played gong
pātē taki	lead wooden gong drum (Rarotonga)
pātē takirua	fast double played gong, support lead gong (Rarotonga)
pātē tāngarongaro	Aitutaki style low-pitched wooden gong played non-stop. It almost echoes both the lead beat and the double-played gong.
pātē tini	double play wooden gong (Rarotonga)
pa'u	bass drum (Rarotonga)
pa'u mangō	shark skin drum, skin drum (Rarotonga)
pa'u-aka-ariki	ceremonial investiture drum (Rarotonga)
pe'e	chant
pehu	ceremonial dance in Tongareva (Penrhyn)
penu	object
peu tupuna	traditional culture or ancestral practices
pi'a	box
piri	puzzle
po-araara-marae	night of religious thanksgiving observations on sacred ground
po-kai	feasting night
pō-roro	special day for a haircut
pōkai-tapini	tribal feast to entertain visitors
pōkai-tiroa	tribal feast
pu	conch shell
pū-aka-ariki	investiture royal trumpet
puputi	guests receive gifts at a wedding (Nauru)
purumu kikau	boom made from coconut leaf midribs
Ra Ariki	Paramount Chiefs' day or Ariki Day

rākei	decoration
rau niu e te rōrō	dried coconut leaves
rere	flying
rere-taki	war dance
riro	harmonicon, early form of harmonica
sasa	sitting type of hand slapping storytelling (Samoan)
shukai	Tongareva dance style
taiko	Japanese drums
ta'iri'iri	fan
tako	recitation by the high priest
takura-tapu	sacred festival for the procession of gods
takurua	great feast held at a special occasion
tāmaka kiri'au	traditional shoe(s)
tāne	man, male
tangi ka'ara	drum orchestration, sound of sacred drums
Tangi Ka'ara	drumming celebration
tapa	bark cloth
tāpeka	tie
tarakai	festival
tare	incantation before partaking of food
tātatau	tattooing
ta'unga hupahupa	specialist on dancing (Manihiki style)
ta'unga koni	specialist on dancing (Aitutaki style)
ta'unga ori	specialist on dancing (Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro style)
ta'unga rutu	specialist on drumming
ta'unga 'ura	specialist on dancing (Rarotonga style)
tiare	flower
tiare māori	gardenia
titi	hip belt of colourful leaves
to'e paruparu	outstanding dancer [female]

tōkere	wooden gong
tumu kōrero	historian
tumu nu	bush beer
tumu 'ura	specialist on dancing (a source for dance techniques)
Tūrama	All Souls, honouring of ancestors
uka	froth of the ocean waves or smooth
ukarere	ukulele (Cook Islands Māori style)
uku	lice (Hawaiian)
ukulele	ukulele (Hawaiian)
'ura	dance (Rarotonga style)
'ura a'i	fire dance
'ura 'akaau	engagement dance
'ura 'aka'inangaro	love dance
'ura akamorimori	dance to worship
'ura akapa'apa'a	dance to praise
'ura iti akari	coconut teeth husking dance
'ura 'ipo	love dance
'ura kanga	playful dance
'ura kaparima	action song
'ura kōpū	stomach dance
'ura marie	slow dance
'ura pa'ata	platform dance
'ura pa'u	drum dance
'ura pa'u viviki	fast drum dance
'ura penu	dance accompanied by a tool
'ura peu tupuna	dance based on legend
'ura pi'a	box dance
'ura piani	harmonica dance; circular or impromptu dance

'ura pua	flat round wood dance
'ura rama	torch dance
'ura ta'iri'iri	fan dance
'ura takapuni	circular or impromptu dance
'ura tāmātakutaku	dance to scare
'ura tāmataora	dance for entertainment
'ura tati'ae'ae	tease dance
'ura tōpī	top dance
'ūtē	traditional song, melodious chant
umpa	base string tea chest instrument
vahine	woman (Tongareva, Manihiki)
va'ine	woman (Rarotonga)
Vaka Eīva	canoe festival
vaka-pupu	presenting and parading of attractive girls

Chapter Three

RUTU PA'U
COOK ISLANDS DRUMS AND DRUMMING

Jon Tikivanotau
M. Jonassen

An exposition on Cook Islands Māori drumming reflects the power of the senses: what you see, what you hear, and what you feel. The discourse underscores how a traditional ta'unga rutu pa'u (master drummer) would teach his tauira (student): a spiritual, intellectual, and expressive student-teacher relationship, that promotes constructive values, self-discipline, environmental awareness, and intergenerational appreciation. The educational and cultural journey involves drum instruments, drumbeats, rhythms, patterns, and spiritual linkages that emerge in-between.

This chapter begins with an enhanced knowledge of 'apinga rutu (drum instruments), how sounds created from those various instruments are interlaced together, 'atui'anga rutu (interweaving beats), and, why the beats themselves are in essence acculturated arrangements, 'akanukunuku'anga rutu (orchestrations) that tell a story. The foundation of every Māori narrative portrayed in drum sound and dance is built upon an interactive relationship between a drummer and his or her drum instrument, and other drummers and their sound makers. It advances also to more individuals or group dancers. Consequently 'akairo atui (rhythm and pattern symbols) assist thoughtful participants and observers in attaining more fulfilling understanding and appreciation for the unique traditional Cook Islands Māori drum music and culture.

Various Cook Islands Māori drum instruments are discussed in detail including: te au tū pa'u (types/roles of bass drums), te au tū pa'u mangō (types/roles of shark drums), pātē taki ete pātē rua (lead and support gong), tōkere aka'oro or pātē tini (fast double-played gong), and teta'i atu au 'apinga 'akatangi (other instruments).

The chapter concludes with three important aspects of Māori drumming: topa ingoa (naming), akatapu 'apinga rutu (blessing drums), and 'atu rutu (composing beat rhythms). It is important to note that the word 'atu can also be a reference to god, and a widely used Cook Islands Māori word for heart is puku'atu. Moreover, in a Cook Islands Māori drumbeat, the driving rhythm always pivots on the heartbeat and its multifaceted nexuses.

1

2

Tangi ka'ara reflects ancient rhythms, beats, and traditions. It is often said, "Me tangi te ka'ara, kua tae ki tōna arapō. Ka rutu te pa'u," meaning when the sound of sacred drums can be heard, it is the season: drums will be played. For Cook Islands Māori, family connections are at the core of their lives. There are no physical or non-physical barriers to the linkages existing between ancestors and descendants. The traditional Māori definition of family includes those who have passed away (ancestors), those who are living (posterities), and those yet to be born (descendants). Genealogy transcends all perceived barriers and the sounds of the sacred gong or tangi ka'ara echo and link those beliefs. Moreover, the individual instruments in a Māori drum orchestra group can be seen to represent individuals within a family — each has a name, a spirit, and an important role to play. As each falls out of use over time, it is replaced in order for the drum orchestra family to survive, thrive, and succeed.

A vibrant drumming class preparation starts with an effective instructor-student relationship and builds to an extended genealogical family connected through drumbeats, chants, prayers, recitations, names, and emotions. Api'ipi'i rutu pa'u (drumbeat training) ideally begins with a form of meditation. The following example recites memorized incantation in the form of a drum-training chant that begins and ends with a deep breath signifying life:

Hā, ē, A'aere mārīē, na roto ite marū,
E te akakoromaki mā'ata ite au taime rōa rāi.
Nāku i akamata, nāku rāi e akaoti. Kia taka'i ite papa enua.
Kia ātui kite mekameka, o te 'ai tupuna o teia kōrero.
Kia riro au ei tūrama tuitui no te au uki a muri māī.
'Akamou i te pito enua! Ā – RŌ – Ā
Hā, Hā, ē, Iēkōkōū.

Yes, Tread carefully with humility and great patience at all times.
I started it and I will finish it. Allow me to step onto solid ground,
and weave to the power of ancestors who own this knowledge.
I shall become a beaming light to all descendants who come after.
Connect to the navel of the land. A gift? Yes. Celebrate.

3

FIGURE 1
"A native band at Rarotonga" during the Vice Regal [Earl of Liverpool's] visit to the Cook Islands. *Auckland Weekly News*, 9 July 1914 (photo: AWNS-19140709-51-4, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries).

FIGURES 2 & 3
Pa'u used for public announcements (bottom) and to advertise an upcoming movie (top), Mangaia, c.1955 (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

4.1

4.3

4.2

‘APINGA RUTU
DRUM INSTRUMENTS

Defined loosely, the term drum encompasses a wide selection of instruments made from slit and open bamboo, hollowed tree trunks, cut gourds, shells, coconuts, wood blocks, and shark and animal skin. All of these variations exist in the Cook Islands, where the percussive sound is dominant in almost all performing arts. Cook Islands drums can be divided into three main groups: wooden drums or slit gongs, skin or ‘true’ drums, and specialized rhythm-makers that imitate or substitute drum rhythms.

Wooden drums or slit gongs are simply struck to produce a sound and are, thus, sometimes referred to as autophones. In the Cook Islands, autophones are grouped according to tribal origin, tone, pitch, size, and shape into tōkere, pātē, ka‘ara (or kahara), ove, nawa, and koriro.

Skin drums are usually made from a hollowed-out tree trunk or a large, cylindrical piece of wood covered at one or two openings with animal or shark’s skin. Cook Islands drums are of two basic types: the pahu or pa‘u (known as apaiparau on Ma‘uke Island) and the pa‘u mangō or simply mangō.

Specialized rhythm-makers include the ‘oe (paddles), ‘ike (cloth beater), ipu (piece of coconut shell, shaped into a cup), kapu akari tuki (stomping coconut shells), maka (sling shot), moenga (mat), pātai rūrū (fire tree rattling seeds), pātē ko‘e (‘gongs’ made from bamboo), pi‘a (boxes), pōkere or pa‘oki kerekere (black pebbles or stones), pōtea (white stones), pū (conch shell), pu‘i kata nītā (pawpaw stalk whistle), pūpū (shells), purūmu kikau (coconut fibre brooms), rākau (sticks), riro (wood-banana leaf-coconut palm harmonica instrument), rore (stilts), ta‘iri‘iri (fans), tangi‘ānau (coconut bamboo drum), tapa (bark cloth), tini (tin cans), tokotoko (walking sticks), tuitui (candlenut shells), tuki (pounders), tutu‘anga also known as tutunga (wooden anvil), ‘ue (gourds), and vivo (nose flute).

FIGURE 4.1
Betela Dance Team performing in Fiji for HRH Prince Charles in 1974 (L-R): Andrew Andrew – pa‘u mangō teitei, Mataio Nielson – tōkere ‘aka‘oro or pātē tini, Rave Pitomaki – pātē rua; Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē taki, and Maurangi Raina – pa‘u tama (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 4.2
Betela Youth Club rehearsal (L-R) Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pahu, Nga Anthony – pātē tangarongaro, Taru Kamo – pa‘u mangō, Tou Utia – tini, Akaoa, Rarotonga, 1964 (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 4.3
Jonassen Family Show, Maruaiai Danceland, Rarotonga, 1970. Drummers (L-R) Teinakore Tuakeu – pātē pātoru and pa‘u tama, Mataio Nielson – pa‘u mangō, and Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē taki. The full one-hour non-stop show of Cook Islands Māori items was presented in a rare performance by only six performers (three male drummer-musicians and three female dancers). Note the new technique of one player (Teinakore Tuakeu) playing both the pahu and the pātē simultaneously (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

Apart from the obvious excitement generated by the rhythm and innovative mixing of sounds, there is an underlying purpose in all Cook Islands Māori drum presentations — particularly when they are associated with dances.

‘ATUI‘ANGA RUTU
INTERWEAVING BEATS

The original Cook Islands Māori instruments, including the wooden drums pātē, tōkere, koriro, ove, and kahara are played in combination with the skin drums pa‘u mangō and the pa‘u. The pātē, tōkere, koriro, or ove plays a basic rhythmic pattern, which is interwoven with the higher-pitch wooden sound of other wooden drums. Amidst that, the kahara is played in an almost off-beat-pattern to add strength to the sound. The pa‘u keeps a basic one-one beat interrupted by the pa‘u mangō. Because the instruments have different pitches (the pa‘u mangō having the higher pitch), the contribution of each instrument can be discerned. The resulting music has stimulating sounds and is unique to the Cook Islands.

Apart from the obvious excitement generated by the rhythm and innovative mixing of sounds, there is an underlying purpose in all Cook Islands Māori drum presentations — particularly when they are associated with dances. The basic one-one beat of the pa‘u supports the side-to-side motion of hips and the inward snapping of knees or kicking of the lower legs. This slow, distinct one-one beat is typical of Cook Islands Māori dances, differentiating them from the rapid side-shake typical of modern Tahitian Māohi dances and the slower traditional swaying of Hawaiian Maoli dances. The uniqueness is further highlighted when Cook Islands Māori dance movements are compared with the slight hip motions in Samoan and Tongan dance actions.

A second basic beat is that produced from the pātē or more specifically, the pātē taki (lead wooden drum). The pātē taki is emphasized in an orchestrated rhythmic presentation, producing the basic beat sequence that usually takes the lead. The pātē beat directs the hand and body movements of dancers; each beat is a message directing predetermined body motions and facial expressions. Their control over the perfection of the performer’s presentation highlights the importance of their part in the overall performance. This is often the reason why Cook Islanders refer to knowledgeable pātē players as lead drummers. An error by the lead pātē player can drastically complicate the overall musical and dance presentation.

Together, the pātē player and the pa‘u player form the fundamental beat pattern for any drumming sequence. While the pa‘u is controlling hip and leg motions, and the pātē taki directs body and hand movements, the other drum instruments take on supporting roles — only occasionally taking over the control of movements.

‘AKANUKUNUKU‘ANGA RUTU
ORCHESTRATION

The pattern of beats and the unique methods in which each instrument is played means that players need to specialize on only one of the five main types of drums used in a typical orchestra of drummers: pa‘u, pa‘u mangō, pātē taki (tokere taki, koriro taki or ove taki), pātē rua, and pātē aka‘oro. However, there is no ‘one way’ of *playing.* Styles vary between islands in the Cook group, and on each island, players adopt various techniques. The beat patterns number in the thousands, and continuing composition results in an endlessly expanding list. Although most drummers can play other instruments, very few are outstanding in all of them. Even fewer have mastered and memorized a wide selection of beat patterns — including deviations, arrangements, and presentation.

‘AKAIRO ‘ATUI
RHYTHM AND PATTERN SYMBOLS

Mastering the intricacies of a seemingly simple beat pattern requires many hours of practice. Cook Islands names of beat patterns, rhythms, and combinations are traditional, generally accepted, sound-based, or designated according to the theme of their accompanying dance form. The use of names clarifies beats for drummers and dancers alike. Usually, the name for a dance, or for a segment of a beat sequence, is associated with the beat and rhythm of the pātē taki.

TE AU TU PA‘U
TYPES/ROLES OF BASS DRUMS

Bass drums are made from several types of wood: tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, island mahogany), tou (*Cordia subcordata*), vi (*Mangifera indica,* mango), nū (Cocos *nucifera,* coconut), puka-tea (*Ceodes umbramlifers*), and utu (*Barringtonia asiatica*, lowland tree). All these make excellent pa‘u. To make a pa‘u, the trunk of the selected tree is cut to the desired length, ranging from 2 to 8 feet (60 to 250 centimetres [cm]). The inside of the log is then hollowed out lengthwise, leaving a circular outer strip at least 3 inches (7.5 cm) thick. In the old days, the making of a large village drum involved a large number of people and the hollowing process included the use of fire. Today, various tools and techniques are available, but the task still remains difficult. Once hollowed, the two ends are covered with animal skin, and these are attached to the wood with binding rings and rope. In the past, these cords were lengths of flat, 3-ply sinnet braid. The pa‘u is played with a round 12 inch (30cm) stick usually made from ‘au (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, hibiscus). The large village drums previously found in many villages were hung from tree branches when in use. The circumference of such drums could reach 32 feet (10 metres).

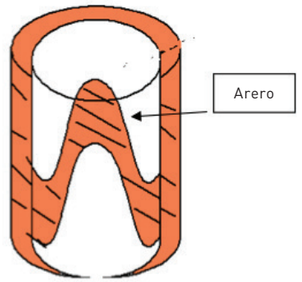
FIGURE 5
Betela Dance Troupe drummers performing at a train station in Tokyo, Japan, 1971. (L-R) Anne Jonassen holding microphone, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē taki, Ota Tuaeu – pātē tini, Teinakore Tuakeu – pātē rua, Mataio Nielson – pa‘u mangō teitei, Wilson Fiji Snowball – pa‘u tama (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

TE AU TU PA'U MANGŌ
TYPES/ROLES OF SHARK DRUMS

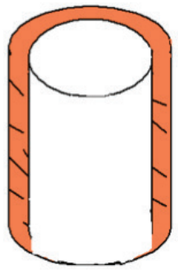
Made of the same type of wood as the pa'u, the pa'u mangō (or simply mangō) has a peculiar arero (tongue) carved into the inside of the top portion of the hollow. Unlike the pa'u, the mangō is generally not hollowed right through. A septum is left between the hollowed portion at the top and that at the bottom. One old type of pa'u mangō had a hollow right through, with skin covering one end, depicted in Figures 6A and 6B. This type is no longer in use. The type depicted in Figure 6C is still in common use and has the above-mentioned arero. This type has one skin covering, which ideally should be shark's skin. The type shown in Figure 6D is similar to that in Figure 6C except that figures are carved into the wood for religious, decorative, or historical reasons.

The pa'u mangō is played with two thin 12 inch (30cm) sticks or directly with the hands. To improve the sound of the shark's skin, it is often heated with fire or left in the sun before the drum is used. Today, goat's skin is usually used instead of shark's skin. Cook Islands communities living in Australia and New Zealand, however, use tarpaulin material instead of skin, and plastic pipes instead of wood.

A. Pa'u mangō



C. Pa'u mangō showing Arero inside



B. Pa'u mangō hollowed through

D. Pa'u mangō with images

FIGURE 6
A. A pa'u mangō 'aka'aka made from vi (mango) wood and covered at the top with goat skin. A metal band at the top of the pa'u mangō is used to stretch the skin around the outside with fibre rope.
B. Sketch of a pa'u mangō showing internal hollow,
C. Sketch of a pa'u mangō showing internal arero,
D. Sketch of a pa'u mangō with carved images (photo and drawings by Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

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FIGURE 7
A pa'u mangō, shark skin drum, 570mm high, c.1880s (photo: FE001197, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington).

FIGURE 8
A pa'u mangō from Southern Cook Islands (Aitutaki according to Buck 1944:272) (photo: M. McLean, Ref. Weavers 57, Auckland Institute and Museum 8865).

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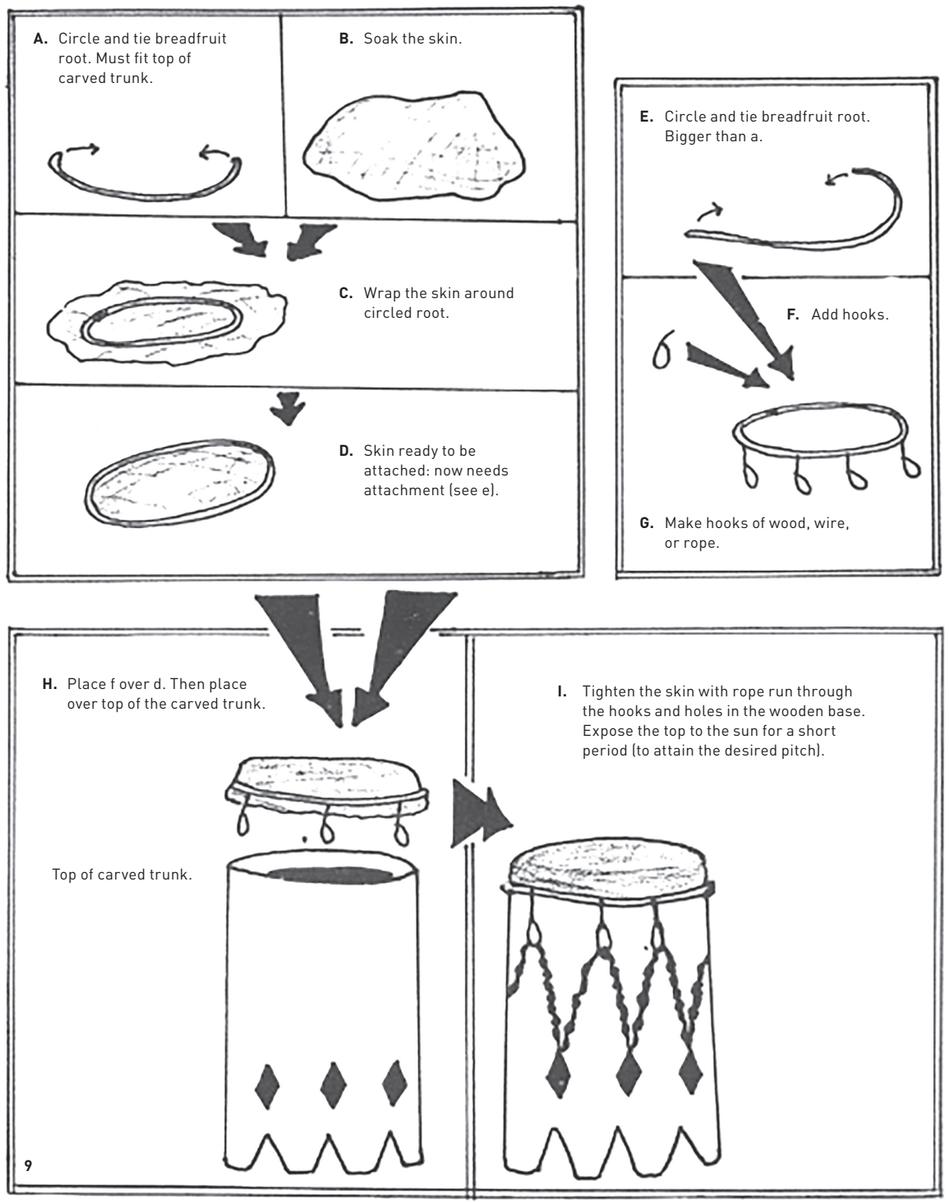


FIGURE 9
Making a pa'u mangō (illustrations: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

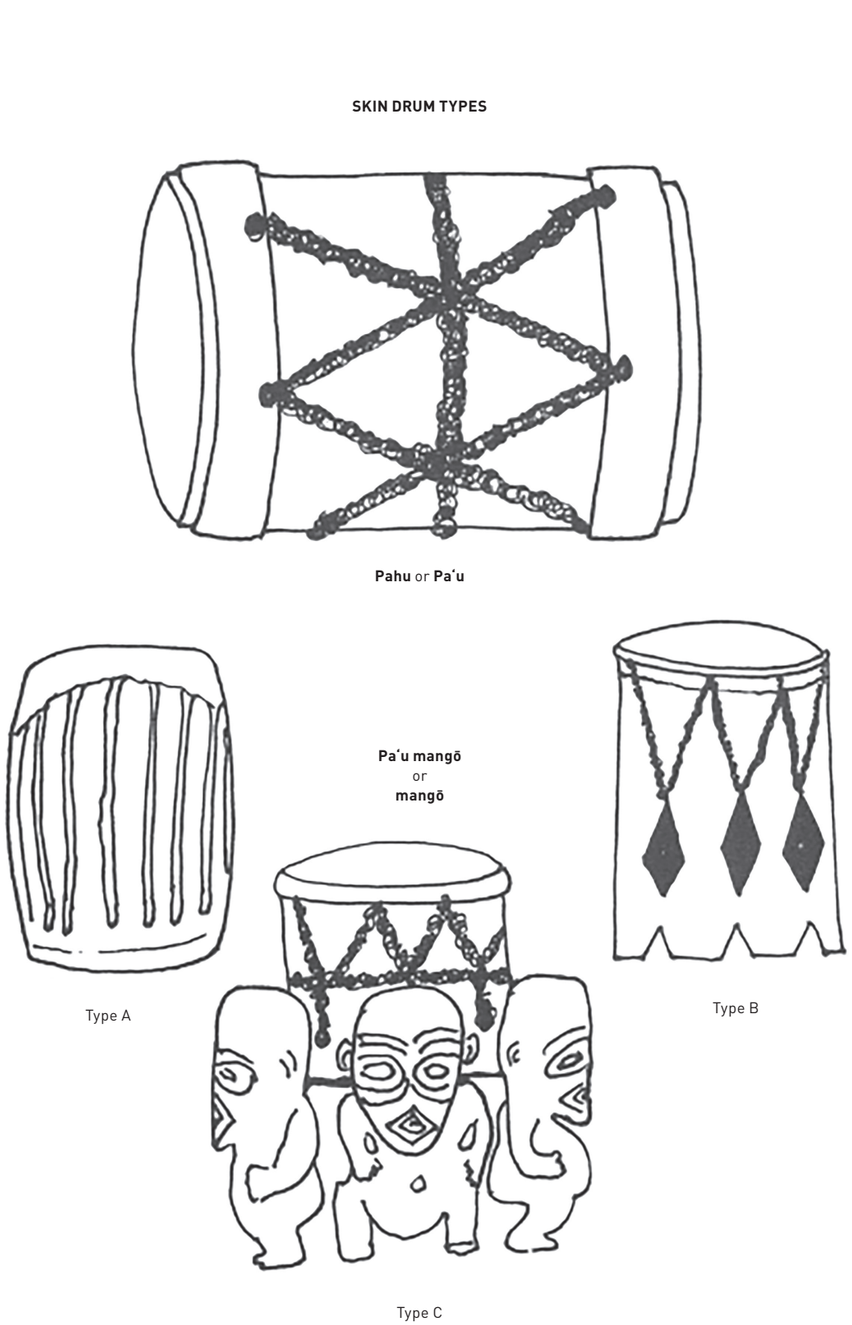


FIGURE 10
Skin drum types (illustrations: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

MAKING A PAHU OR PA'U: CONTEMPORARY STYLE

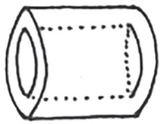
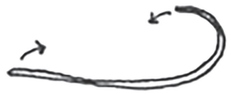
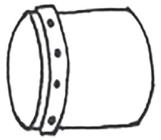
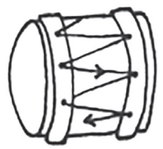
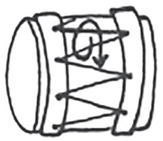
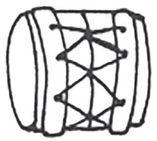
	**1.** Cut an appropriate tree trunk or branch to the desired size. Any wood can be used but usually nū (coconut), vi (mango), tamanu (mahogany), and puka are used. Hollow the wood from a. to b.
	**2.i.** Attain a breadfruit root or substitute. Fit over side a. of 1. Circle and secure the circle allowing loose fitting over a. (See Figure 3.6.E). Repeat for side b. of 1. **2.ii.** Wrap the skin around the circle root (See Figure 3.6). Repeat on the second circle. **2.iii.** Tympanum section is now ready to be attached to the drum base. There should be two.
	3. Prepare a wide rim which can loosely fit the base side a. Repeat for side b. Drill equidistant holes. * This is an alternative to 3 above. Hooks have been added.
	**4.** Attach 3 over 2 and fit the whole two pieces over the edge of side a. Repeat process for side b.
	**5.** Run the ropes through the holes of the rims or what we labelled as number 3. Note the direction of the rope.
	**6.** After the last hole, without disconnecting the rope, run it through the central part triangle that has already been created. Ensure the central rope circles each triangle and pull before moving to the next triangle.
	**7.** A hard pull should result in the outer two rims moving inward and thus stretching the tympanum or what we labelled as number 2. Expose side a and b to the sun for a short period.

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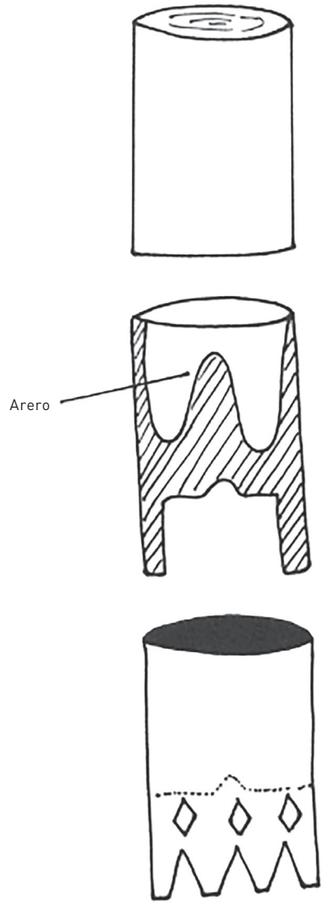
FIGURE 11
Making a pa'u mangō (illustrations: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

MAKING A PA'U MANGŌ: COOK ISLANDS STYLE



1. Take a piece of round wood (log) which measures about 18 inches by 26 inches, depending on the required size. Any hardwood can be used but usually **nū**, **puka**, **tamanu**, and **vi** are chosen.

2. Hollow the top and bottom as shown in the diagram. The **arero** (tongue) determines the tuning, resonance, and tone of the drum.

* The arero is unique to the Cook Islands **pa'u mangō**

3. Make holes from the outside. These will serve as rope channels for tightening the skin.

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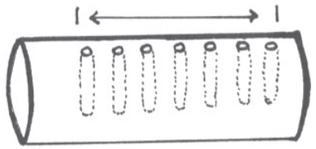
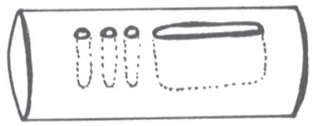
FIGURE 12
Making a pa'u mangō: Cook Islands style (illustrations: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

MAKING A PĀTĒ

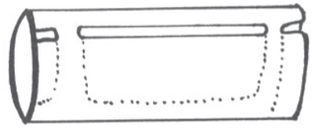
Cut a hardwood branch or trunk to the desired length. Remove the bark.



Drill in one straight pattern leaving 4 or more inches at the ends.



Chisel out the inside from the drilled holes thus forming an opening as the wood is hollowed.



If desired, the ends can also be chiseled out.

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PĀTĒ TAKI E TE PĀTĒ RUA
LEAD AND SUPPORT GONG

Wooden drums or slit gongs are commonly known as tōkere, pātē, ove, ka'ara (kahara), or koriro. The tōkere is the general term for a slit gong on the island of Aitutaki, and is the equivalent of what the Rarotongans call a pātē. However, the continuous out-migration of Aitutakians has resulted in interchangeable use of the terms on Rarotonga. Some Rarotongan drummers tend to call the small slit gongs tōkere and the bigger ones pātē. Usually, a small slit gong would be called pātē-meangiti on Rarotonga or tōkere-mamaiti on Aitutaki. The term pātē-meangiti on Rarotonga now tends to refer to the middle-sized pātē rather than the small one.

The wooden drums including the pātē are made from big branches of hardwood trees, occasionally from the trunk itself: tamanu (*Calophyllym inophyllum*, island mahogany), miro (*Thespacea populnea*, dark redwood). Pua (*Fragaea berteriana*) is also an excellent wooden material to create outstanding wooden gongs, but it is such a sacred and uncommon tree that it is rarely used. The carving process is very similar to that of the smaller tōkere, except that the two ends are often not hollowed out. The length of the pātē varies from 28 to 36 inches (70 to 90 cm) depending on the pitch and tone required. If three pitches are needed, the carvers make three pātē of varying sizes. Usually, the pātē is played by using one 12 inch (30cm) stick, known as a tītī, which is used to hit either the side of the central slit or the side of the wooden drum.

FIGURE 13
Making a pātē (illustrations: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

FIGURE 14
Mangaian ka'ara or slit gong, wood, 92cm long, c. late 18th – early 19th century (photo: LMS 45 ex London Missionary Society collection, British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 15
Pātē rua puta (photo: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

FIGURE 16
Te Fuinga O Niva drumming experts in Tangi Ka'ara drum competition, Rarotonga, 2003. (L-R): 1. Sonny Williams – koriro taki, 2. Ngatoko Ngatoko – koriro, 3. Junior Ioaba – koriro, pātē tini, 4. Paenua Matapo – pahu metua, 5. Glenn Tangiiti – pahu mangō, 6. unidentified – koriro, 7. Tom Tom – koriro, 8. Robert Ioaba – koriro taki (photo: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

PĀTĒ AKA'ORO
FAST DOUBLE-PLAYED GONG

A pātē aka'oro is also referred to as a pātē rutu takirua or, in drum groups in Rarotonga, a tōkere (mamaiti). The instrument is used with the pātē; its sound interjected into the pātē's louder and lower pitch lead. The pātē aka'oro links segments of beats, but unlike the pātē, it is played continuously until the end of an orchestrated piece. The pātē aka'oro is difficult to master.

The tōkere refers to a wooden gong (here it refers to a small wooden gong). It is made from hardwood branches cut to a length of about 18 inches (45 cm). The diameter is usually close to 5 inches (13 cm). A naturally straight branch free of smaller branches will make the best drum. Carving can begin as soon as desired. The wood is laid lengthwise on the ground and a 2-inch (5-cm) slit is cut longitudinally along one part of the surface, leaving 3 inches (7.5 cm) untouched at both ends. Through the slit, the interior is hollowed out resulting in a mini, odd-shaped canoe shape. A second slit is formed from the end, working parallel with the first slit, leaving a 2-inch (5-cm) septum of wood between the two slits. The other end of the tōkere is worked the same way. The end slits are also hollowed out, but in doing so, it is important not break the septum of unremoved wood. The tone and pitch of the tōkere is determined by the amount of wood hollowed out from the centre slit. For this reason, experienced carvers consider this the most important part of the carving process.

Two 12 inch (30cm) sticks are used to play the tōkere: each stick is 2 inches (5 cm) in diameter at one end, working towards a point at the other. The sticks are sometimes soaked in mud for a few days to strengthen and add weight to the stick. The player holds the thicker end and hits the central part of a tōkere, usually making sure to hit the side of the central slit — although end slits are sometimes hit for special effect.

TETA'I ATU AU 'APINGA 'AKATANGI
OTHER RHYTHM-MAKING INSTRUMENTS

Other instruments are often added into drum presentations, particularly if the presentation relates to a story that is being performed on stage. For instance, in a drumming piece portraying the story of great ancestor Ru's sailing journey across the Pacific to Aitutaki island, the 'oe (paddle), pū (conch shell), maka, (sling shot), and moenga (mat) would often be used in the performance. Chants, prayers, and drumbeats project a story that is adventurous and dramatic. Musicians choose instruments based on aspects of the story, availability of instruments, ability of the musicians to play those instruments, and the acceptable creative opportunities offered by dance group and community leaders to the drummers.

Different kinds of 'oe (paddles) are used for varying purposes. All are often used as props in performances and as additional sound-makers. The 'oe adds to the power of storytelling, and its haunting hardwood sound compliments the sounds of both the skin and wooden drums. 'Oe are either hit against other 'oe or pounded on the ground.

FIGURE 17
Aitutaki drummers in Tangi Ka'ara, 2003 (L-R): 1. Taria Tuakeu – tōkere rua, 2. Tamarua Kiria – tōkere taki, 3. Terepai 'Junior' Maoate – team manager (in background), 4. Terei George – tōkere tāngarongaro, 5. Po'o Bishop – pa'u mangō 'aka'aka, 6. Kimiora Pongi – tōkere pātoru/ tōkere aka'oro, 7. Noo Ngatamariki – pa'u metua, 8. Dawn Tare – tōkere tangarongaro, 9. Joe Katangi Moetiti – tōkere tangarongaro, 10. Ruta Tare – tōkere taki (photo: Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen).

An 'ike (cloth beater) is used for making tapa (bark cloth) and is made from a variety of woods, with the type of wood determining the pitch and sound. During tapa-making, the sound is often incorporated into chants, adding creativity and fun into an otherwise laborious task.

An ipu (piece of coconut shell, shaped into a cup) is often used to create an additional rhythm in a musical presentation. The ends of two are gently struck together.

Kapu 'akari tuki (stomping coconut shells) are similar to the ipu except that they are not specifically made for use as a basin. The coconut shells can be various shapes and sizes and are stomped on the ground or on a flat wood. Sometimes strings are run from the inside of each of two halves of the kapu akari and, with a foot on top of each of the two shells, the performer can hold the other end of the strings and walk, causing a stomping sound. Kapu akari are used to highlight stories in a performance.

A maka (sling shot) is normally used as a weapon. As the weapon swings in the air, it produces a unique whistling sound. At times, this sound is incorporated into storytelling and in a rhythmic presentation.

A moenga (mat) is rolled into a bundle and played from the outside using two sticks. The sound of the moenga depends on the type of material from which the mat is made. A moenga shaped into a box can also have an effective sound in a drum orchestration.

Pātai rūrū (fire tree rattling seeds) are made from seedpods of a flamboyant tree (*Delonix regia*, poinciana). When dry and shaken, the seeds inside the pod make a rattling sound. The larger the size of the pod, the lower the pitch. The pātai rūrū provides an effective additional sound in parts of a drum rhythm sequence.

For pātē ko'e ('gongs' made of bamboo), the pitch of the sound is determined by the size and length of the bamboo, and the width of the aperture slit. Thinner wooden sticks are used to play the instrument.

Pi'a (boxes) vary in size and shape, and this variation — together with the type of wood used — determines the sound produced. Pi'a sometimes supplement for a bass drum and at other times complement the sound of regular drums. Chanters and dancers incorporate pi'a to add to the storyline and to create a lively interaction between drummers and dancers. A beat can be pounded on the pi'a with the hands, sticks, or other utensils. Dancers often use pi'a as a prop or as a practical step to a stilt during a stilt dance.

Pōkere or pa'oki kerekere (black pebbles or stones), when hit against each other, make sounds. Performers prefer the small round, flat ones. The stones' high-pitched sharp notes complement the low sounds of wooden drums.

Pōtea or pa'oki teatea (white, coral pebbles or stones) when hit against each other, make sounds. Performers prefer a hardened small and round flat stone, and sometimes use them as a prop. The lower-pitched notes complement the high sounds of the pōkere and the soft sounds of the skin drums.

The pū (conch shell) is often an important instrument in Cook Islands Māori musical presentations. It is usually played at the beginning and at the end of a

> ***Chanters and dancers incorporate pi'a to add to the storyline and to create a lively interaction between drummers and dancers.***

FIGURE 18
Betela Youth Club, Rarotonga, 1964. (L-R) Teinakore Tuakeu – pātē taki, Wilson Fiji Snowball – pātē rua, Tere Kavakura – pātē tini, Maui Miri – pa'u mangō, Kennedy Marsters (standing), Peri Mose – pa'u tama, Anne Jonassen (dancing on pa'u metua). The album featured the Betela Youth Club, including one whole side with Betela drumbeats. Note the big bass drum on the cover. These large drums were common in the Cook Islands prior to the 1960s. They were often hung on trees, had individual names, and were openly praised by admirers, especially when they could be heard for miles and distinguished from a distance by their unique sounds (photo: James Siers, cover of Rarotonga Festival, Hibiscus LP recording cover).

FIGURE 19
Betela Dance Team, Orange Ballroom, Auckland, 1969. (L-R) Takai Ngatipa – pa'u metua, Daniel Anautoa – pātē tini, Kennedy Marsters – pa'u mangō teitei, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē rua, Teinakore Tuakeu – pātē taki (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

performance or ceremony. It can also dramatize portions of a storytelling drum presentation. The aperture of the conch shell can either be at the side or the tip of the shell. The size of the shell determines the sound, with the larger shells producing a lower pitch.

The pu'i kata nītā (pawpaw stalk whistle) is made from a green nītā tree (*Carica papaya*, papaya, pawpaw). The stalk is cut cleanly from the main stem, and a small slit is made about 2 inches (5 cm) from the leaf end. Leaves are trimmed without cutting the stalk. The open end is cleaned by scraping slightly, and the player blows through this end to create a sweet whistling sound. The thickness of the stalk determines the sound quality. Pu'i kata nītā can add to the variety of drum and chant orchestration.

Various kinds of pūpū (shells) are sometimes incorporated into storytelling, the sound adding to the perfomance. The pūpū are tied together in bundles and attached to the hands, arms, or legs of the performers and occasionally shaken during the performance.

Purūmu kikau (coconut midrib fibre brooms) are swung in the air or swept on the floor to create a unique sound that complements the sound of the pahu and the tōkere.

Various rākau (sticks) have different sounds and various pitches. They are generally round and 5 to 24 inches (12.5 to 60 cm) long. The rākau are hit together between the tip and the middle.

A riro (Mangaian specialized instrument) is made from wood and strands of banana and coconut palm leaves. William Wyatt Gill described it as a subsidiary musical instrument, "a sort of harmonicon, consisting of two pieces of dry hibiscus wood, supported at each end by banana-stalks, and lightly tapped with ironwood sticks" (1894:252-253).

Rore (stilts) have been incorporated in drum sequences in specialized dance presentations from Aitutaki. The stilts are made from young branches of the 'au tree and footrests from branching parts of the 'au tree are shaped and attached securely to each stick about two feet from the ground. Anchors (wooden plugs or nails) and knots are used. Dancers walk on the stilts and, with the accompaniment of drumbeats, relate a story of valour and warrior training. The stilts are occasionally hit together on the upper tip by the dancers or pounded on the wooden floor on the lower tip while walking, to add dynamic action and sounds to the overall drum orchestration. Occasionally, a short drumbeat portion will be echoed on the stilts by the dancers.

Ta'iri'iri (fans) are woven from pandanas or coconut leaves and used primarily for fanning. It is also an important symbolism for peace with a significant role in investiture ceremonies and sometimes used as part of a performance. The fan held in one hand is hit with the palm of the other hand to create a special sound. The fan is also hit on other parts of the body, particularly the sides of the thighs or arms to create a special effect.

The tangi'ānau (coconut bamboo drum) is made from a coconut shell that is slit on one side, with its enclosed side attached to a bamboo. The bamboo also has a small slit on one side. The bamboo and the coconut are hit with a small stick to produce two different pitches and sounds.

Tapa (bark cloth) is sometimes rolled up or used to cover a box to produce a muted, mellow beat for a special orchestration.

Tini (tin cans) were introduced into drum rhythms by Manihiki drummers. The tin cans were originally used as containers for cabin bread biscuits, and also for the delivery of the mail to the small coral islands of Manihiki Atoll.

A tokotoko (wooden walking stick) pounded at the bottom end on a wooden floor creates simple beat patterns that complement the skin drum sound in some drumming sequences. The walking stick is made from tamanu, tuava (guava), or toa (Casuarina equisetifilia, ironwood) ranging in length from two to five feet, depending on the height of the user.

Tuitui (*Aleurites moluccana*, candlenut shells) are sewn together and attached to the wrists or ankles and are shaken during a dancer's or drummer's performance. The performer's enthusiasm determines the loudness.

Tuki (pounders) are made of wood, coral stone, basalt stone, or stalagmites. Of various shapes, they are pounded on anvils or in wooden bowls, generally when making medicine or food. The pounding sound is sometimes used to accompany special chants and drumbeats.

A tutu'anga or tutunga (wooden anvil) is made of wood and is used for the making of tapa. The pounding adds unique rhythms and sounds.

'Ue (gourds) vary in size and shape and are usually cut at the top end and cleaned inside and outside. The bottom end is hit with the palm or flat of the hand. It can also be carefully hit on solid ground to produce a special sound.

The vivo (nose flute) is made of wood, bamboo, 'au bark, or bone. The wind sounds create beautiful counterpoints to the heart-pounding sounds of the drums.

All of these instruments complement the overall musical sound while greatly enhancing the story being presented. The basic wood and skin drum categories are dominant, but on some occasions, other sound makers take the front stage. The choice of sound-makers depends on the story line and the role of the main characters in the performance.

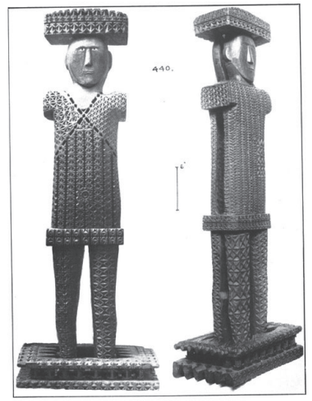

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FIGURE 20
Drum, Mangaian ka'ara, made of wood, slit-gong type, with surfaces covered with fine, geometric carving. Cylindrical form, circular in cross-section with exception of a flattened section where the aperture is cut in. Aperture hour-glass in shape (photo; Oc,LMS.59, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 21
Rangi – God of Tranquility, God of Drums, Mangaia (Jonassen 1991:58).

FIGURE 22
Ka'ara – sacred gong, Ngatangiia, Rarotonga. Shows upper surface and side: upper opening shows curved ends and a longer and wider slit than the Mangaian kahara; curved incised lines present on either side of ends of opening. Ends are raised bands of crossed lines corresponding in position to raised bands of Mangaia kahara and extending around gong except in upper surface. End knobs are cut in at bases, are not triangular in section, and are uncarved (Buck 1944:268).

TOPA INGOA, AKATAPU
NAMING AND BLESSING DRUMS

In Cook Islands Māori traditional culture, each drum is considered to have a spirit and possesses the magical power of communication. It is additionally recognized that individual drums have a special characteristic and an individual name. As Cook Islands High Commissioner to New Zealand, I witnessed that powerful traditional perspective when attending a drum blessing and naming ceremony in 1998. Seven newly carved Cook Islands Māori drums were brought to Wellington, New Zealand, and in accordance with traditional culture, Tangaroa Kainuku, a ta'unga, putokotoko, and tumu kōrero (priest, talking chief, and oral historian) from Rarotonga, conducted the ceremony. Each drum was identified by an individual name and also received a traditional as well as a modern Christian blessing. After the ceremony, the drums were used for the first time in an orchestrated performance. The types of drums presented in that particular ceremony and their individual drum names are listed below.

Drum type	Individual name given
Ka'ara (sacred drum)	Te Vero o te Ra (The sun ray)
Pātē taki (large lead gong)	'Ara'ura (Dancing path)
Tōkere tangarongaro (mid-sized support gong)	Tumutevarovaro (Foundation)
Tōkere mamaiti (small gong)	Ngamaru (Protector)
Tōkere tikita (double play gong)	Avaavaroa (Extended call)
Pa'u mangō (shark skin drum)	Te Vaka o te 'au (Canoe of peace)
Pa'u (base drum)	Nui (Prominence)

The blessing of Cook Islands instruments underscores the spiritual element of Cook Islands Māori culture, and is a tradition that concedes an underlying, though powerful, voice shrouded in rākau (sticks) and tangi ka'ara (sound of sacred drums). It is an acknowledgement of relationships that are neither divided nor connected by moana-nui-a-kiva (oceans), maunga (mountains), rangimotia (heavens), or mate kopapa (physical death). It recognizes that the kōpū tangata (family) and their papa'anga (genealogy) and kōrero (oral history) traditions are connected, centrally and eternally. The family bonds people across all barriers, linking the past, present, and future. It relates ancestors to descendants and emerges in family ceremonies that require drumming and chanting. Cook Islands drums — as represented by the ka'ara (sacred drum), the pātē (ove, koriro or tōkere), pa'u (or tangi parau), and the pa'u mangō — merge to form a powerful medium for family conversations. Consequently, one of the most challenging aspects of Cook Islands Māori drumming is composing balanced and meaningful beat orchestrations and sequences — sounds of nature that capture spiritual, physical, intellectual, and expressive elements in a storyline that weaves families together.

'ATU
COMPOSITION

Cook Islands Māori drum sequences essentially incorporate elements of akateni (tone), viviki (speed), tangi (volume), and 'akanukunuku (orchestration). These elements can be interwoven to create different combinations. The orchestration of beat types involves takita'i (solo), arataki (lead), 'atui (interweaving), and pange (chorus).

FIGURE 23
Cook Islands Māori beat elements.

FIGURE 24
Rarotonga's Betela Dance Troupe drummers on stage on Namegawa Island, Chiba-ken, Japan, 1971. Performing in front of an audience estimated at 6,000 people are (L-R) Andrew Andrew – pa'u mangō 'aka'aka, Ota Tuaeu – pātē rua, Mataio Nielson – tōkere 'aka'oro or pātē tini, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē taki, Teinakore Tuakeu – pātē pātoru, and Wilson Fiji Snowball – pa'u tama (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

FIGURE 25
Betela Dance Troupe on television, Japan, 1976. (L-R) Diya Moana Nicholas – dancer. Background: Andrew Andrew – pa'u mangō, Ruta Tare – pātē tini, Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen – pātē taki, Lily Jonassen – dancer and singer, Chris Tauira – pātē rua, Kauraka George Kauraka – pa'u tama (photo: Jon TM Jonassen family collection).

Cook Islands Māori beat elements

AKATENI - Tone

VIVIKI - Speed	TEITEI ATU Very high	TEITEI High	TANOTANO Perfect	'AKA'AKA Low	'AKA 'AKA ATU Very low	TANGI - Volume
TAERE Very slow						MARŪ ATU Very soft
MARIE Slow						MARŪ Soft
TANOTANO Perfect						TANOTANO Perfect
VITIVITI Fast						MANIANIA Loud
'ORO TE AERE Very fast						TURITURI Very loud
	TAKITA'I Solo	ARATAKI Lead	TANOTANO Perfect	'ATUI Interweaving	PANGE Chorus	

AKANUKUNUKU - Orchestration

Figure 10 summarizes the range and variances of the hundreds of possible combinations. Depending on the narrative being told through music and dance, a drummer can vary his akateni (the first element) from teitei atu (very high) to teitei (high), tanotano (perfect), 'aka'aka (low), or 'aka'aka atu (very low). Similarly, the viviki (second element) of drumming can be tāere (very slow), mārie (slow), tanotano (perfect), vitiviti (fast), or 'oro te aere (very fast). A dance story about a spiritual ancestor might require a soft tone drumming background that builds into its climax as the speed increases.

The third element for the drummer involves tangi, which can be marū atu (very soft), marū (soft), tanotano (perfect), māniania (loud), or turituri (noisy). The three elements of tone, speed, and volume are then selectively orchestrated through a variety of instruments playing takita'i (solo), arataki (lead), 'atui (interweaving) or pange (chorus). The drummer and his instrument may also be in a tanotano (perfect) role, which may simply require him or her to remain in the background.

A tōtē (unexpected additional beat by a drummer) is the worst embarrassment for a drumming team. A pāpāota (unclear, confused, or mistaken beat) in any performed beat sequence is a disgraceful occurrence for a pupu rutu (drumming team), and a legendary disaster for an accompanying dance team. An outstanding Cook Islands drumming group performance is exciting, interesting, and memorable, and contains no technical errors. Each instrument is played as planned, with every beat being clear and succinct. All of the elements of tone, speed, volume, and orchestration are consistently in balance with the theme of the story, and in tune with the spirit of the ancestors. The ultimate drumming performance should make a listener nene (climax).

24

25

Table 1 shows symbols used in composing drumbeats. It is based on oral traditional methods of teaching drumming and includes symbols for hits to the centre of the pātē or to the edge of the gong. Double beats, rest pauses, and specific movements are listed.

Table 1. Akaira rutu Māori (Key to Cook Islands Māori drumming)

Written Symbol	Explanation	Sound Symbol	Name	Translation
–	one hit to centre of drum	–	tō	sugarcane[1]
.	one hit on edge of drum	.	tī	ti plant
2	a repeat beat pattern		ta'oki 'aka'ou	repeat
3	a repeat three times		toru taime	three times
/	a single beat rest		akahea	breath
//	a double beat rest		e rua akahea	two count rest
U	two hits to centre of drum	->-	tiri	cast
N	two hits to edge of drum	.>.	toro	extend
T	a specific sequence	(N...NN)2	tikitā	introduction
T	a specific sequence	(N...NN)	tikitā poto	short introduction
W	a specific sequence	->->-	torero	ant invasion (from torokia e te rō)
M	triple to side	.>.>.	tiriri	cast a knot
>	a quick pick up			
X	multiple repeats		ta'okioki	repeats
C	a continuous beat pattern		aere e te rā	go with the sun
R	right hand		katau	right
L	left hand		kauī	left
=	centre beat emphasized		akateia'a tō	sugarcane emphasis
.	an edge beat emphasized		akateia'a tī	emphasis on ti plant
O	end of a sequence		oti	stop

Using those key symbols in Table 1 (above), Table 2 (below) elaborates the use of symbols with an example of a complete orchestrated drum sequence, including various beat segments. The drum arrangement is named Aitu (Line up of traditional gods), with segment beats individually adding the story of selected traditional gods with their accompanying symbol and sound. Aitu underlines a Cook Islands Māori rutu pa'u or tangi ka'ara that develops into an ura pa'u or drum dance. It expounds a cultural tradition unique to the Cook Islands. It is a dynamic performing, material, and spiritual art form that remains at the core of Cook Islands Māori personality.

[1] In traditional Cook Islands Māori culture, tō (Saccharum officinarum, *sugarcane) and tī* (Cordyline terminalis) *sweet leaves are considered to be plentiful in Iva (heaven), a place under the guardianship of Tukaitaua (W.W. Gill 1876:139-142). The tō represents something worth fighting for. It is loud: a battle sound. The fire, that one, has to be willing to face. In fact, tō also means fight in Aitutaki dialect. The ti represents the centre point. It is the support and the peace yearned for. Invariably in life, the tī and the tō are in constant motion, interacting sometimes in competition and at other times in unison. Traditional Māori drumbeats can be viewed also in the same manner.*

Table 2. Sample rutu ura pa'u (drum dance beats) sequencing: AITU[1]

Instrument used[2]	Beat: Tinirau	Comment
Part 1: Tinirau – Dance God		
(1) mangō teitei	**N . . . /**	continuous
(2) pa'u metua	**(- / - / - / - - >- //)2**	
(3) pa'u tama	**(- ->- //) 2**	
(4) aka'oro	**(- - U U //) 2**	repeat from (2)
(4) pe'e	**Tinirau e Te Atua e . . .// . . .// (- U U - /)2**	
(5) pange (chorus)	Tei 'anga mai i te ura e (- U U - /)2 E te kapa rima e te koni e (- U U - /)2	
	Ta'iri ki mua, Ta'iri ki muri (- U U - /)2 Huka ki raro Huka ki runga (. . . //)2 (- U2 - /)5 // – – //	
(6) pa'u, mangō/ kapu akari	(– U – – // – U2 – //)10 (U – //)2 (U2 U2 –)	slow
Part 2: Rutu: Raka – Wind God		
(1) pange	**[(U2 / – / – / – //) (U4 – /)2]4**	slow
(2) pātē taki & pātē rua	**(. > . > . > N N / . //)4**	fast
Part 3: Rutu: Tupapa – Sky God		
(1) pātē taki	**(. – – – / U U – / U4 – //)2**	continuous begin slow
(2) pātē rua	**(– – U U – //) (. . . N N //)**	
(3) pa'u /pa'u mangō	**(– – U U – //) (. . . N N //)**	speed up
(4) pange	**(U U // U U // U4 –//) 2**	fast
Part 4: Rutu: Areariki – Forest Queen		
(1) pa'u	**(// – // – // – U – –)3**	slow
(2) pa'u mangō/ pātē taki	**[(. . – //) 2 (. . – / U / – – //)**	
(3) pātē rua	**(. – / . – / . U U //)**	
(4) pātē pātoru	**(– U2 U2 – > – //)6**	
(5) pange	**(N . . . //)]6**	
Part 5: Rutu: Raro – Ocean Floor God		
(1) moenga	**[(– U – – //)2 (– U U – //)2]2**	slow
(2) pa'u	**[(U U //) 2]6**	speed up
(3) pange	**(U4 – //) 4 (– / U2 – //– U4 / –)2**	fast
Part 6: Rutu: Taakura – Tempting Goddess		
(1) arataki	**Ta'akura atua**	very fast (end beat)
(2) kapu akari/ moenga/ pange	Ta'akura atua. Kua rere to rongo ki te ao. Marū to reo i te tangi. Na roto i te ō o te po. Kua uka taku tino i te paru. Ukauka taku tino i te paru. **Ukauka taku tino i te paru**	
(3) arataki (4) pange	Na roto i te o o te po. E pakau ke, Aruru mai ei, Pu'arara, Pu'arara, Pu'arara **(– U2 – //)3**	
Part 7: Rutu: Irotepua – God of Thieves		
(1) pātē taki (2) pange	**T (U – / U – / U – – U U – //)4**	very fast (end beat)
	(. > . > . > . > //)4 U 2	scale down

"It is a dynamic performing, material, and spiritual art form that remains at the core of Cook Islands Māori personality."

[1] Beat sequence and segments composed and recorded by Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen, 2007, Drum Beats of Rarotonga, Honolulu: Hula Records. The theme of each beat segment highlights various traditional gods and their sign.

[2] Instruments used in Aitu drum dance are aka'oro (small double played gong), kapu akari (coconut shell), mangō teitei (high pitch shark drum), moenga (mat), pa'u metua (large bass drum), pa'u tama (small bass drum), pātē pātoru (3-scaled or -tuned gongs), pātē taki (lead wooden gong), pātē rua (second support gong), and pātē toru (third support gong). The pe'e (chant) also plays a prominent part.

It will be an underlying element close to the heart of those who can truly see, hear, and feel when tangi ka'ara emerges and rutu pa'u begins.

CONCLUSION

Cook Islands drums will always remain as one of the important elements of Cook Islands Māori culture. The method in which the instruments are carved may change, and materials utilized could increasingly involve cheaper materials, including plastic pipes, metal barrels, and tarpaulin. Other newer or innovative instruments might also be incorporated in some drumbeat orchestrated sequences, and most 'traditional' drumbeats will increasingly be selective, repetitious, and reflective of plagiarized sequences from popular pieces. This will be propelled by a dramatic decrease in knowledgeable traditional drumbeat composers and a dominating tourist related economic environment. The increasing need for more entertaining performances and less time consuming storytelling will impact greatly on the drumbeat role and orchestration format in an overall Cook Islands cultural performance. Drum team members will increasingly be more versatile on all drum and other musical instruments. Consequently, there will be less specialization on sound makers with decreased quality in beat variations.

Traditional approaches to drumming are likely to be maintained within Cook Islands Māori communities who live overseas. With most Cook Islanders now living outside of the country, the Cook Islands Māori drumming culture will continue to become even more global and expand its influence to other music forms. However, at the source, the fundamental spiritual, intellectual, and expressive elements of the Māori drum instruments, drumbeats, rhythms, patterns, and the transcendent linkages that transpire in-between, will always remain. It will be an underlying element close to the heart of those who can truly see, hear, and feel when tangi ka'ara emerges and rutu pa'u begins.

FIGURE 26
Pa'u mangō (skin drum), 450mm high, 1992, Cook Islands by Rurutaura Tauta, Teokotai Pita – wood, toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia,* ironwood), goat skin, iron, synthetic rope (photo: FE010085, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington).

FIGURE 27
Pa'u (drum), 645mm high, 1992 — Cook Islands by Rurutaura Tauta, Teokotai Pita – wood, toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia,* ironwood), goat skin, synthetic rope (photo: FE010084, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand Wellington).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen was born on Rarotonga and grew up in a thriving environment of Cook Islands Māori traditional cultural dance and drum performances. He was lead drummer for the Betela Dance Troupe that toured Asia and the Pacific for several years, and has written many articles on Cook Islands culture and politics. Jonassen worked in the Public Service Commission, in the Ministry of External Affairs, and was the first Secretary for both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Cultural Development in the Cook Islands. He initiated a Tumu kōrero Conference in Rarotonga in 1990 and later led a group of traditional oral historians on a historic cultural exchange tour of New Zealand Māori marae. Jonassen has composed over 500 original songs and drumbeats and has released several recordings including an album of drumbeats featuring him in a one-man orchestra. He was Director of Programs and Acting Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission. Later, he became Professor of Political Science and chaired both the Political Science and Pacific Islands Studies departments at Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. He also took time out from University and accepted a posting as High Commissioner of the Cook Islands to New Zealand, Australia, Papua New Guinea and Fiji. Jonassen recently retired from the University and lives in the Cook Islands and New Zealand. In June 2014, Jon Tikivanotau Michael Jonassen was awarded an MBE by Queen Elizabeth II for contributions to Cook Islands culture and music, and in the same year, he was nominated and presented by a New Zealand based international Cook Islands music committee with three awards: for outstanding contribution as part of the Jonassen Family singing group that released recordings in the 1960s, an outstanding song composer with major contributions to Cook Islands music nationally and internationally in the last 50 years, and he was also inducted into the Hall of Fame for Cook Islands music.

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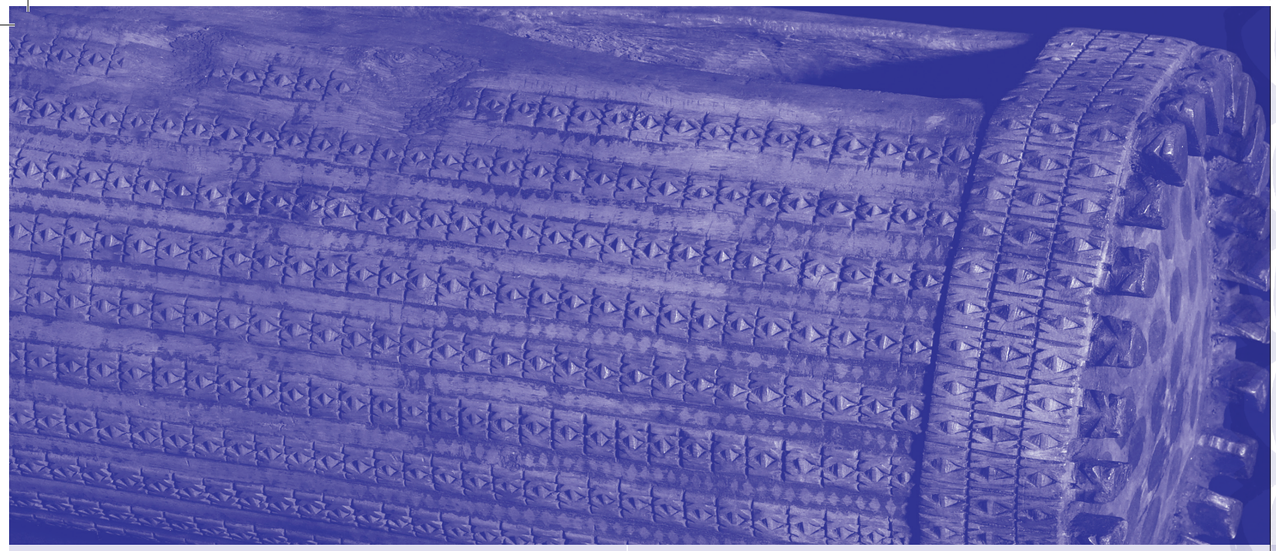

FIGURE 28
Jon Tikivanotau M. Jonassen featured on *Drum Beats of Rarotonga*. The album was also released as *Drum Beats of the Pacific*. The album was nominated for the Hoku Awards in Hawai'i in 2007. Two songs on that album, "Tiki Patana" and "Akaepaepa," were released in the 2007 Hoku Nominee Sampler Release, Honolulu: Hula Records.

GLOSSARY

aere e te ra	go with the sun
aitu	god
'aka'aka	low
'aka'aka atu	very low
akahea	breath
akaira rutu Māori	key to Cook Islands Māori drumming
akahea	breath
akaira rutu Māori	key to Cook Islands Māori drumming
'akairo atui	rhythm and pattern symbol
'akanukununuku	orchestration
'akanukununuku'anga rutu	orchestration of beats
aka'oro	small double played gong
akari	mature coconut
akatapu	naming and blessing drums
akateia'a to	[drumming] emphasis on centre beat
akateia'a ti	[drumming] emphasis on edge beat
akateni	tone
'anga	create
apaiparau	skin drum (Ma'uke)
api'ipi'i rutu pa'u	drumbeat training
'apinga rutu	drum instruments
arāpō	season, moon phase
arataki	lead
Ara'ura	dancing path
Arearīki	Forest Queen
arero	tongue
'atu	composition
'atu rutu	composition of beat rhythms
atui	interweaving
'atui'anga rutu	interweaving beat
'au	*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, hibiscus
avaavaroa	extended call
e rua akahea	2-count rest
huka ki mua	graceful movement to the front
huka ki muri	graceful movement to the back
'ike	cloth beater
ipu	coconut shell cup
Irotepua	God of Thieves
Iva	Heaven
ka'ara	sacred gong – usually intricately carved
kahara	sacred gong – usually intricately carved (Mangaia)
kapu akari	coconut shell
kapu akari tuki	stomping coconut shell (also referred to as kapu apu akari tuki)
kata nītā	papaya stalk
katau	right
kaui	left
ko'e pātē	bamboo drum
koni	dance (Aitutaki)
kōpū tangata	family
kōrero	speak; oral history
koriro	wooden gong (Manihiki, Rakahanga and Tongareva style)
koriro taki	lead wooden drum
maka	sling shot
mangō	skin drum
mangō teitei	high pitch shark drum
māniania	loud
mārie	slow
marū	soft
marū atu	very soft
mate kopapa	physical death
maunga	mountain
miro	*Thespacea populnea*, dark redwood
moana-nui-a-kiva	ocean, Pacific Ocean
moenga	mat
nawa	wooden gong (Pukapuka style)
nene	climax
Ngamaru	protector
nītā	*Carica papaya*, papaya, pawpaw
nū	*Cocos nucifera*, coconut
Nui	Prominence
'oe	paddle
'oro te aere	very fast
oti	stop
ove	wooden gong (Atiu style)
ove taki	lead wooden drum (Atiu)
pahu	skin drum (Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva style)
pange	chorus
pa'oki kerekere	black pebble or stone
pa'oki teatea	white, coral pebble or stone
papa'anga	genealogy
pāpāota	unclear, confused or mistaken beat
pātai	fire tree (*Delonix regia,* flamboyant or poinciana)
pātai rūrū	fire tree rattling seeds
pātē	wooden drum, slit gong (Rarotonga style)
pātē aka'oro	fast double-played gong
pātē ko'e	bamboo drum, bamboo gong
pātē-meangiti	formerly small, now medium slit gong (Rarotonga)
pātē pātoru	3-scaled or -toned wooden gongs
pātē rua	second, support wooden gong
pātē rua puta	wooden gong with two apertures
pātē rutu takirua	a lower-pitch gong being used as a fast double-played gong
pātē taki	lead wooden gong
pātē taki ete pātē rua	lead and support gong
pātē takirua	a fast double-played gong
pātē tangarongaro	Aitutaki style low-pitched wooden gong played non-stop. It almost echoes both the lead beat and the double-played gong.
pātē tini	double-played wooden gong
pātē toru	third, support wooden gong
pa'u	bass drum – skin drum
pa'u mangō	shark skin drum – skin drum
pa'u mangō 'aka'aka	low-pitched shark skin drum
pa'u mangō teitei	high-pitched shark skin drum
pa'u metua	low-pitched, large bass drum
pa'u tama	small, high-pitched bass drum
pe'e	chant
pi'a	box
pōkere	black pebble or stone
pōtea	white, coral pebble or stone
pū	conch shell
pua	*Fragaea berteriana*, sacred tree
pu'i kata nītā	pawpaw stalk whistle
puka tea	*Ceodes umbramlifers*, large native tree
puku'atu	heart
pūpū	shells
pupu rutu	drumming team

> ***Cook Islands drums will always remain as one of the important elements of Cook Islands Māori culture.***

purūmu kikau coconut fibre broom

putokotoko talking chief

Raka Wind God

rākau wood, generally round sticks 5 to 24 inches (12.5 to 60 cm) long

Rangi God of tranquility (Mangaia), God of drums

rangimotia heaven

Raro Ocean Floor God

riro Mangaia specialized instrument made of wood and strands from banana or coconut palms

rore stilts

rutu pa'u playing drums, drumming

rutu te pa'u play the drums

rutu ura pa'u drum dance beats

Taakura Tempting Goddess

tāere very slow, dragging tempo

tairi ki mua shake to the front

tairi ki muri shake to the back

ta'iri'iri fan

takita'i solo, one at a time

tamanu *Calophyllum inophyllum*, island mahogany

tangi volume, sound

tangi ka'ara sacred drum sounds

tangi'ānau coconut bamboo drum

tangi'ānau mamaiti small bamboo-coconut drum

tangiparau skin bass drum – usually very large (Ma'uke style)

tanotano perfect

ta'okioki repeat

tapa bark cloth

tauira student

ta'unga master, expert

ta'unga rutu pa'u master drummer

te au tu pa'u types/roles of bass drums

te au tu pa'u mangō types/roles of shark drums

te vaka o te 'au canoe of peace

te vero o te ra the sun ray

teitei high

teitei atu very high

teta'i atu au 'apinga 'akatangi other musical instruments

tī ti plant (*Cordyline terminalis*)

tikitā introduction

tikitā poto short introduction

tini tin can

Tinirau Dance God

tiri cast

tiririī cast a knot

tītī pa'u 12 inch drum stick rounded at the ends to hit the bass drum

tītī tōkere 12 inch (25 cm) drumstick to hit beside slit or of the wooden drum

tō *Saccharum officinarum*, sugarcane; fight (in Aitutaki dialect)

toa *Casuarina equistifilia*, ironwood; warrior

tō'ere, tōkere wooden slit gong (Aitutaki)

tōkere 'aka'oro double-played wooden gong (Aitutaki)

tōkere [mamaiti] fast double-played gong (Rarotonga)

tōkere-mamaiti small slit gong (Aitutaki)

tōkere pātoru 3-scaled or -toned wooden gongs

tōkere rua second, support wooden gong

tōkere taki lead wooden gong

tōkere tikitā double-played gong

tōkere tangarongaro Aitutaki style low-pitched wooden gong played non-stop

tokotoko walking stick

topa ingoa naming drums

toro extend

tororo ant invasion

toru taime three times

tōtē unexpected additional beat by one of the drummers

tou *Cordia subcordata*, type of hard wood tree

tuava guava

tuitui *Aleurites moluccana*, candlenut

Tukaitaua Guardian of Heaven, known as Iva

tuki pounder

tumu kōrero a person knowledgeable in traditional oral history

Tumutevarovaro Foundation

Tupapa Sky God

turituri noisy

tutu'anga wooden anvil (also referred to as tutunga)

tutunga a shortened usage of the original name of the same instrument

'ue gourd

'ukarere ukelele

ura dance

ura pa'u drum dance

'utu *Barringtonia asiatica*, lowland tree

vi *Mangifera indica*, mango tree

vitiviti fast

viviki speed

vivo nose flute

Section Two

CLOTHING

A Heathen Wedding March – in Gill, William Wyatt. 1876. *Life in the Southern Isles*. London: Religious Tract Society. p.61.

Chapter Four

TAPA
CLOTH OF OUR ANCESTORS

Hilary Scothorn

In the centuries before Western goods arrived in the Cook Islands, the general material used for garments varied according to the geology of the islands. On volcanic islands, the ʻaute (paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyifera*) shrub was cultivated extensively and its beaten bark provided the main material for clothing and wrappings, generally known as tapa cloth.[1] In addition to the paper mulberry, bark from the kuru (breadfruit), au (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), or aoa (banyan, *Ficus prolixa*) was beaten for textiles in a process similar to that of other Pacific cultures. The method remained relatively stable throughout the centuries and involved strips of the inner bark soaked and beaten into sheets with an ike or iʻe (beater) upon a tutunga (wooden anvil) and felted into sheets when the desired thickness and width was reached. Often, an indentation from the beater was left as a pattern on the finished cloth, creating a fine texture of parallel or perpendicular lines. According to intended purpose, finished sheets of ʻaute could be dyed and decorated with natural dyes or glazes. As in other Polynesian art forms, tapa had diverse formal properties according, but not limited, to personal taste, function, labor intensity, and available materials. This chapter is an initial effort to document the various forms of tapa cloth from the Cook Islands, particularly seeking to identify and categorize historic pieces in Western museums, but also to place it within the larger corpus of Polynesian bark cloth. It is hoped that by identifying extant 19th and 20th century examples, scholarship will be generated on a local and international level, as well as renew interest in the manufacture of this significant women's art form.

Scholarship has been hampered by several factors. For secular functions, bark cloth was rapidly replaced by Western fabrics leading to a decline in tapa production by the turn of the 20th century. Due to its ephemeral nature, few, if any, historic examples remain in the islands. The majority of specimens are lodged in anthropology museums, particularly those with collections associated with missionary activity and early Pacific industries, such as sandalwood or whaling.[2] Most samples were received in the 19th century, so documentation is generally sparse and attributions are often spurious. The intense labour required for producing bark cloth was also a likely factor in its dramatic decline; however, the tradition did not die out completely. Atiu has retained use of aoa ceremonial garb into the 21st century, though ʻaute (which does not propagate on its own) has apparently died out completely on Rarotonga, Atiu, and Mangaia.[3]

1

2

BARK CLOTH AND DRESS IN THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

Functions of bark cloth in the Cook Islands were similar to those of other Polynesian islands and were reported by visitors to have a variety of purposes and manifestations in the 18th and 19th centuries. During a visit to Mangaia in 1777, William Anderson noted men wearing maro (loin cloths), made from *Morus Papyrifera* [sic] and recognized the similarity to bark cloth seen on other "south sea" islands, particularly Tahiti (Anderson 1967:827). Neither patterns nor decoration were noted, but there was some treatment to the cloth which gave it a glazed appearance mostly likely produced by covering finished tapa with a mixture of coconut oil and vegetable dye (Buck 1944:64). Women wore a strip of bark cloth wound around the waist called a pāreu (kilt or skirt), which varied in width depending on the marital status of the wearer (Buck 1944:64). Female dancers performing for Anderson on Atiu wore "only a piece of blazʻd cloth fastened about the upper part of the belly" which provided an opportunity to "observe every part" (Anderson 1967:835). It was also noted that the "common dress was a piece of cloth or matt [sic] wrapʻd about the waste [sic] which covered the Privitys" (Anderson 1967:840).

Other articles of dress were made from bark cloth in this early contact period. White bark cloth turbans are reported on Atiu and Mangaia; similar wraps were reported as markers of status during approximately the same period in Tahiti, Tonga, and Samoa (Cook 1967:81; Anderson 1967:827). These early observers noted that, as with other types of clothing, the turbans were likely a sign of rank, and these associations were carried over during the social transitions associated with extended Western contact. Gill noted bark cloth on Mangaia used as a turban in the last decades of the 19th century, thus suggesting it was an appropriate wrapper for the most sacred part of the body while being an evident marker of social identity (Gill 1880:49). Cook noted that on Mangaia there was a

[1] Buck cited both ʻaute and anga as the general words for paper mulberry. Mangaian terms include ʻaute or tīkoru. When painted it was parai (to smear or paint) or other terms according to how it was painted (see Buck 1944:72). On Atiutaki, there were three: ʻaute and anga were viewed as different varieties with a third called purautea. Buck suggested that that latter was actually the wild hibiscus (Buck 1944:67). He also noted that finished white cloth was termed pāʻoa and further delineated according to decorative treatment. While Buck cites other variations by island, field research in 2008 suggested that the current most common word for bark cloth is primarily tapa or, alternatively, ʻaute.

[2] See Appendix for a list of museums consulted.

[3] Buck noted this as early as 1929 (Buck 1944:74). Fieldwork in 2009 produced no examples of paper mulberry growing on Rarotonga, Atiu, and Mangaia. It is certain that it was propagated on these islands previously. There is a local interest in re-establishing the plants and cuttings have been cultivated by the University of the South Pacific Cook Islands Campus.

FIGURE 1
Basket of beaten bark from the roots of the banyan or ava tree (photo: Taoi Nooroa).

FIGURE 2
Mangaian women beating bark on tutunga or tapa anvils, University of the South Pacific tapa workshop, Mangaia 2008 (photo: Taoi Nooroa).

3

hierarchy of social position represented in dress, as some "were better cloathed [sic], these we took to be women or principal chiefs" (Cook 1967:81). Tapa was worn over the shoulders as a cloak or shawl and as a specific girdle wrap called a tātua (Buck 1944:67). An illustration from the 1830s, "Makea, King of Rarotonga," is part of a set of watercolour paintings used by John Williams and other missionaries on lecture tours.

The chief wears a chalky strip of tapa embellished with painted dark oblong forms, wound diagonally across the chest, presumably coming from the back of the waist to cross over each shoulder. The tapa is apparently quite supple, the light colour suggests rank and is of considerable width and length, as there is a quantity hanging off the shoulders, implying considerable value as it was soft and quite labour intensive.[4] The undergarments appear to be a white Western shirt and a skirt of undetermined fabric. (Given the wearer's status, a variety of garments would have been available to him). Makea could also be wearing a pona, an article of clothing defined by Savage as "a kind of inner or under-garment, which was made from the fine, soft tapa cloth and worn under a tiputa or other outer garment or covering" (1983:142). This portrait suggests that in this early period, with an influx of Western trade goods, there was a selective incorporation of foreign manufactured articles of dress that were combined with traditional Cook Islands garments.

These early accounts also confirm that bark cloth was a suitable item for gifts and trade upon important occasions. Anderson noted that a chief of Atiu sent a canoe out to *H.M.S. Resolution* with "a pig and some cloth as a present to Captain Cook" (Anderson 1967:833). Later, a tense moment occurred on shore when Anderson and his party were detained for several hours whilst an umu was being prepared. Despite Anderson having been given a gift of a "small piece of cloth" taken from around the chief's waist, it did not allay their fears of potential cannibalism (Anderson 1967:837). Within a short period of time, other visitors to the ship materialized with food for trade, and cloth was quickly recognized as a significant desirable article. Anderson traded an axe and piece of red cloth to a man in a canoe for a bunch of plantains (Cook 1967:82). Anderson reported that within several days the wife of a chief appeared at an event with her child "laid in a piece of red cloth which had been presented to her husband" (Anderson 1967: 840-841).

There is some debate about the arrival of an upper body garment called a tiputa (poncho) which was not mentioned by the early explorers and seems to appear later in the islands, possibly introduced from Tahiti. Andrew Bloxam, a visitor to Mauke in 1825, reported that "the inhabitants wear their dress in the manner of the Spanish poncho and these were painted in very gay colors" (Buck 1944:65). Combined with the plentiful examples in museum collections, notations such as Bloxam's confirm that within several decades of Western contact, the tiputa form, simply a length of bark cloth with a hole for the head in the middle, was adapted for general use. Ponchos were readily available and allowed islanders to conform to missionary ideals of modesty while remaining a signifier of high community standing.

Social rank was easily displayed with clothing, and Buck reported that tiputa were the favorite garment of "high born ladies" (Buck 1944:143). It is possible that because tiputa were a means to display social position, they became more elaborate through the introduction of scissors (or other metal tools) developing long fringes, zigzag edges, and, on Mangaia, intricate cut-outs. Kooijman asserted that tiputa which were worn as "daily clothing by ordinary people" were "undecorated or almost entirely without ornament" (1972:67). On Mangaia, the missionary Rev. William Wyatt Gill reported that the decorated tiputa, presumably those with cut-outs, were important ceremonial garments. Photographs from the early 20th century depict islanders in suits and Mother Hubbard dresses, often posed in front of tivaivai (quilts), suggesting a correspondence between the cultural significance and availability of quilts with the wearing of Western style garments for occasions.[5] Ceremonial occasions photographed at this time period often show islanders in tiputa and tapa garments. These form a significant tradition particularly on Mangaia and are discussed below.

"This portrait suggests that in this early period, with an influx of Western trade goods, there was a selective incorporation of foreign manufactured articles of dress that were combined with traditional Cook Islands garments."

[4] How accurate the artist represented the model is undetermined. Perhaps in an effort to show the tattoos on the chief, the artist left the legs and arms bare.

[5] Dozens of photographs of the era by George Crummer can be seen via a collections search on the Te Papa Tongarewa website: http://.collections.tepapa.govt.nz/search.

FIGURE 3
Makea, King of Rarotonga. 1830s. Watercolour. 75 x 51 cm (photo: National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an13866985, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an13866985).

FUNCTIONS IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

While manufactured cloth was becoming more available, bark cloth was still being made for a variety of practical and ceremonial purposes. Rev. William Wyatt Gill lived on Mangaia from about 1852 to 1872 and was a prolific source on Cook Islands culture. As has been recorded in other parts of Polynesia, Gill noted the use of bark cloth for "sails of native cloth," which on a practical level would have likely been made from the coarser aoa or kuru (1880:89). In Hawai'i, Tonga, and Samoa, bark cloth also had a frequent use as bedding; Gill recorded its use as wrapping around a stone that was used as a pillow (1880:110). Headbands of "native cloth" were used to identify groups of warriors (1880:49), and Gill relayed an episode from the visit of Captain Cook where scraps of cloth were given away to curry favour. To their surprise, "these bits of cloth . . . were wrapped around the head as ornaments and as marks of distinction" (1880:191). Tapa garments were official wear for significant events, such as adoptions into tribes or families. Gill observed that, "for so important an occasion, they put on their war head-dresses and covered their persons with many folds of twisted native cloth" (1880:138). From those few reports that remain about the functions of bark cloth in the social networks of 19th-century Cook Islands life, it is clear that there were many forms of tapa and these were used as islanders saw fit.

Buzacott reports that by 1845 a mission station had established cotton plantations and looms for weaving cloth on Rarotonga. Despite the leadership of Mrs. Buzacott, the cloth produced rapidly fell out of favour once whaling ships began to trade for supplies. The American whalers brought "Manchester prints, fine white calico, [and] ready–made clothing" thus supplying the "market at a much easier and cheaper rate than could be done by native hands" (1866:93). But despite the availability of fabrics and clothing, in the mid-19th century bark cloth was still recognized as appropriate "clothing for the gods" despite the transition to Christianity (Gill 1880:90) and as a wrapping for the god Rongo (1880:229) and perhaps, by association, chiefly leaders.

There is little elaboration or detail about what the cloths looked like or why tapa was considered more appropriate than woven textiles. Gill reported that bark cloth was employed for various circumstances where it was both practical and sacred, for example as a covering for a kite and as a shroud.[6] With its density and strength, bark cloth seems a logical choice for kites but because of the movement between earth and sky, there are symbolic associations with the supernatural (1880:18). Gill noted that a deceased body was enveloped in a paoa (pā'oa), "or sort of mourning used only for the best-beloved" and was likely darkly colored when used for grieving (1880:21, 62). As a shroud, bark cloth was present for the transition between life and death, another instance where it was involved with passage to the other world.

In terms of mythology and genealogies, there is little mention of bark cloth, clothing or tapa goods. One exception is the story of Taki, which tells of the lead character obtaining bark cloth at Rangi–taua, the abode of Tu-tavake. He brings several articles back with him from the world of Pō, among them Mai (fermented breadfruit), an Anga-kuku shell, Mai-kuku (mascot finger nails), Pu'uri ('aute bark sandals) and the Aka-a-rangi, a cloth made of the combined barks of the breadfruit and banyan trees. The Aka-a-rangi cloth had a pattern traced upon it also called Aka-a-rangi that translates as "the branches of heaven" ('Are 2000:181). While it does not describe the pattern, the translator noted that this pattern comes from the 'Land of the Shades' making that particular emblem, branches of heaven, associated with the other world ('Are 2000:181).

Oral histories suggest that specific garments were associated with ariki (chiefs). 'Are relayed that in one story of Ngata Ariki of Tua-rangi, the Ngaro-Ariki came to a marae (sacred ground) "with the garments and symbols pertaining to the installation of an ariki from her offering" (2000:130). Before the arrival of foreign trade goods, the traditional garments worn at installations would have been tapa cloth. Ceremonial uses in the 19th century involved symbolic social events particularly weddings, adoptions, and performances. Wedding couples sat upon a bark cloth blanket to receive gifts after their ceremony suggesting that tapa, like mats, delineated significant spatial areas during ceremonies (Gill 1880:10).[7] As in western Polynesia, sheets of tapa cloth were used as barriers between sacred and secular space, delineating areas of tapu especially in regards to chiefly persons. Gill wrote, "Tevaki was hidden inside the pa tīkoru, or that part of the dwelling curtained off with a sacred cloth. On no pretence whatever could this sanctuary be invaded" (Gill 1894:70). Bark cloth in the Cook Islands had similar functions to that of other Polynesian cultures, both in functional and more abstract terms.

While tapa production appears to have ebbed dramatically by the late 19th and early 20th century, one photograph by George Crummer demonstrates a painted tapa being used in a similar manner. Figure 4 depicts a group posed on the front porch of the British Resident's home on Rarotonga. In the central part of the photograph, a papa'a woman, possibly the Resident's daughter, is seated upon an intricately painted tapa that covers the stairs below her. Other Crummer photographs depict officials seated on mats, suggesting that tapa and mats were somewhat interchangeable for marking space and showing status or respect. From these various reports, bark cloth in the Southern Cook Islands not only functioned in society as an appropriate gift at life occasions but also carried abstract powers signifying courtesy, regard, esteem, and reverence.

> ***"bark cloth in the Southern Cook Islands . . . . carried abstract powers signifying courtesy, regard, esteem, and reverence."***

[6] *See Buzacott 1866:82 for a description of kite flying.*

[7] *Not unlike a new, plastic folding mat being presented first and used under the chair of a seated young man of Cook Islands ancestry during gifting of tivaivai, blankets, and comforters at his 21st birthday in Auckland, New Zealand, on 28 June 2009.*

FIGURE 4
Woman seated upon an intricately painted tapa, British Resident F. J. Moss's House, Rarotonga, c.1910 (photo: George Crummer; B.028262, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand).

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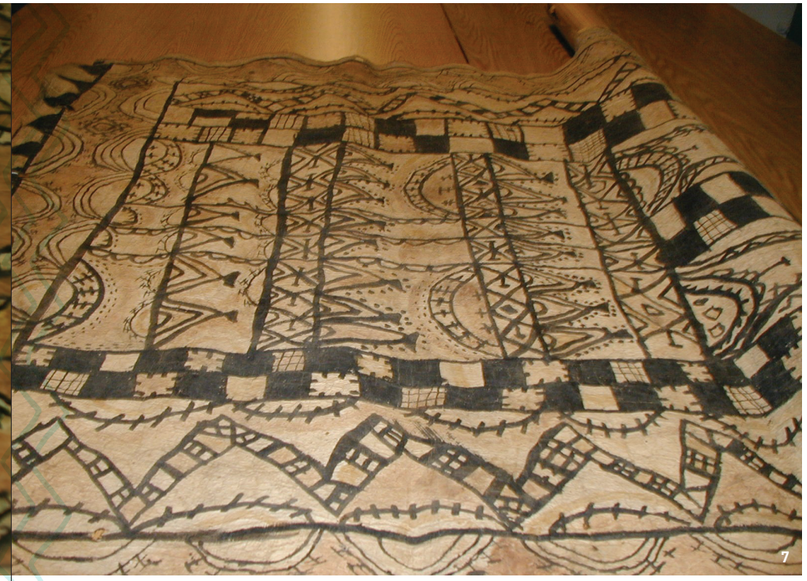

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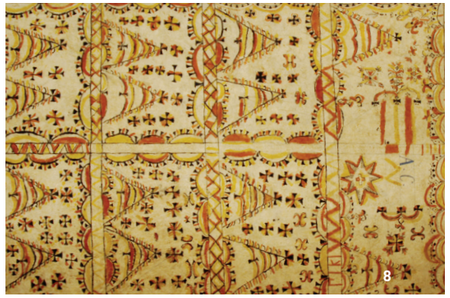

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TAPA VARIETIES AND DESCRIPTIONS

Despite their proximity, each island in what became the Cook Islands maintained unique cultural practices and aesthetic traditions. The bark cloth that remains in museum collections naturally falls into groupings based on stylistic or formal traits that perhaps with further investigation can be localized into island or village designations. This preliminary report presents seven basic groupings of tapa organized by formal traits and/or geographic origins as found in museums in the Antipodes, Europe, and North America.

When Anderson noted the correlation with Tahitian tapa in the late 18th century, they were likely plain, uncoloured, or unpainted examples that reminded him of the neighbouring island's Polynesian cloth. Among collections, there are a great variety of unassigned, undecorated, unpainted examples that are not likely to be identified without the discovery of additional accession information. There is a variety of thickness, colour, and texture to these plain tapa, but those from the Cook Islands routinely show beater markings in parallel or perpendicular lines across the cloth. Figure 5 is designated as coming from Mauke, the only cloth specifically identified from that island. Of note is the even, light brown colour and the watermarks left from the beater; its size, approximately the size of a small bed sheet, was ample for a pāreu. The cloth has aged well as it remains soft and flexible however, the slightly rough texture and light brown colour suggest it is not 'aute but another plant, likely aoa.

Artists in the Cook Islands used a variety of natural dyes to obtain rich, warm colours for their tapa, including red, yellow, salmon, orange, brown, and black. Buck gave extensive information about the materials used for various colours; however, he did not provide possible explanations or purposes for colouration (1944:63). Many of the painted examples are not dated, but there seems to be a progression away from using quantities of dye to more open patterns over the 100 years of available examples (approximately 1820 to 1920). If this hypothesis is correct, Figure 6 would be an example from the first part of the 19th century. The colours saturate the cloth and the designs are not very intricate, consisting of garlands and triangles in horizontal bands across the cloth.

FIGURE 5
Piece of bark cloth, light brown in colour, the beater marks at right angles to each other. "From Mauke a small island of this group (Hervey Group) made from the bark of the breadfruit tree." 11' 10" x 8' 8" (photo: Oc,+.3581.aOc,+.3581.a © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 6
Sheet of tapa cloth. Aitutaki, Cook Islands. Painted on one side with geometrical design. Length 77" [196 cm] # Oc1911,-.221 (photo: the author © Trustees of the British Museum).

For comparison, Figure 7, part of the Appleton Sturgis Collection in the American Museum of Natural History, was collected in the mid-19th century. It shows an increase in the use of black as a major component of decoration, with solid squares of black alternating between diamonds, triangles, garlands, and abstracted X forms. Black has been allowed to bleed into irregular lines or soak through the cloth. Rather than the open spaces seen between motifs in Figure 6, the patterns in Figure 7 are denser, and there is a sense of urgency with the painting having lost some of the earlier precision.

The tradition of making and decorating bark cloth was ebbing by the last quarter of the 19th century when newly invented aniline dyes became available in the Pacific. With rare exceptions, the new materials were not incorporated into the painted tradition.[8]

Figure 8 is possibly from the later end of the production spectrum in the 19th century because there are large, uncoloured areas, a sparse use of dyes, and an inscription in orange letters across one section. Above a 8-pointed star are the initials "A.C." in blue. The predominant motifs are garlands, latin crosses, and ticked and infilled triangles, all seemingly randomly subdivided into smaller and larger rectangles. The blue could be ink or laundry bluing, which were commonly used paints in other parts of Polynesia. The frantic nature of paint application remains, and not infrequently, the black dye has run and splattered. There are variations on painted tapa forms; another type resembles the piece from the Residency photograph (Fig.4). Like other painted bark cloths, the same motifs, garlands, triangles, bands, and chevrons are present, with the canvas divided into rectangular sections, employing black, orange, and yellow dyes.

The bark cloth traditions of Aitutaki are well documented with Peter Buck's localized examination of traditions in *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands, Aitutaki*. Buck spent five weeks on the island of Aitutaki during the latter half of 1926, as part of a 90-day expedition funded by the Board of Māori Ethnological Research. The island used pahoa (pā'oa) as the general term for bark cloth (Buck 1927:81). As with his other publications, Buck covered an extraordinary breadth of cultural practices but concentrated on the processes of manufacture rather than contextual information. He noted that while women on the island "knew a

[8] *In contrast, these dyes were readily adopted in Samoa.*

FIGURE 7
Tapa cloth. Cook Islands. Mid-19th century Appleton Sturgis Collection (ST4355, © American Museum of Natural History).

FIGURE 8
Tapa. Cook Islands. Otago Museum D42-66 (photo: © Otago Museum).

FIGURE 9
Detail. Tapa. Aitutaki, Cook Islands. Acc. No. E1901.123 (photo: © Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge).

9

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good deal about cloth-beating, the finer points about dye patterns had evidently not been passed on" (Buck 1927:79). Though symbolism and various associations are lost, Buck's diligent reporting allows identification of distinctive Aitutakian patterning, particularly the two most unusual.

Buck observed a method of dye transfer, found specifically in Aitutaki, which involved rakau takiri pahoa (dying frames) that were inked and pressed upon the raw tapa cloth in a stamping motion. Buck noted that women placed the mid-ribs of the coconut leaf within the frames either at 90-degree angles or 45-degree angles, making, respectively, a ngaito or okaoka pattern (Buck 1927:78).

Figure 10 is a detail of an okaoka pattern on a larger cloth employing dark brown ink upon a lighter brown tapa. Another variation on rakau takiri pahoa was made with red mati (*Ficus tinctoria*) dye, creating a pattern called rarua. This differs significantly from the practices of Western Polynesia where paint is rubbed over design panels, but is somewhat similar to the stamping techniques with plant forms found in Tahiti during the 19th century. Other methods of colouration on Aitutaki involved a black colour scheme, piri and pahoa verevere ki te repo, or dark brown, pareu, which was used as a bed cover and included freehand black lines drawn in taro mud (Buck 1927:83). Varnishes were derived from the sap of the tamanu (mahogany, *Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit sap, or coconut oil.

11

Yellow dye was most often obtained from renga (turmeric) and called hapaha. This, or the hora made from banyan, was used as covering for a woman after childbirth (Buck 1927:83). Renga, ubiquitous in Polynesia, was a common dye for bark cloth, and cloths stained with it often retain a vibrant yellow colour despite their age. However, a light, natural colour background embellished with renga and a red dye appears to be unique to Aitutaki. Red was obtained from mati and used as a basic all over dye, pungavere, or used with frames and termed rarua. The variation that combines the bright yellow of the renga with the red of the mati is seen in Figure 11. Rectangular sections alternate with loosely painted red scalloped lines, latin crosses, zigzags, and ovals, while the yellow appears to be used as filler for the remaining open areas. The tapa has been compartmentalized into 24 sections creating an aesthetic arrangement suited towards smaller pattern groupings, almost like the repetition of designs on chintzes or other manufactured printed fabrics.

As in other parts of Polynesia, significant items of supernatural power were often wrapped or bound, which was thought to imbue power, contain mana (authority), or provide a buffer of protection to the public – or all three (see Shore 1989). Representations of gods were often wrapped in layers of bark cloth secured with intricately tied ka'a (sennit) ropes or white cloth (for a variety of such gods, see Oldman 2004). While few of the staff gods retain their wrappings, those that do provide significant insight into the potential religious functions of tapa cloth. The largest of the extant wrapped staff gods measures nearly four metres long and was given to the Rev. John Williams on Rarotonga in 1823. Originally part of the London Missionary Society Collection, it is now held in the British Museum (Q78.Oc.845). Other smaller staff gods, which are generally ascribed to Rarotonga, have wrappings of black on white tapa cloths (see Otago Museum O50–041) suggesting that the island had a tradition of creating ceremonial black on white cloths. As many of the original wrappings were removed from the staffs, this could explain the quantity of black on white rectangular tapas seen in most museum collections, such as the one illustrated in Figure 12.

These black on white cloths consistently share intricate linear geometric patterns of hatching, ticks, and zigzags and are of the oldest examples in collections. It is extremely rare that oval or circular painted shapes are present (see British Museum Q81.Oc.1524). The black on white cloths are very soft, pure white, and have a consistent, even texture making them very labour intensive which, in turn, may suggest a significant religious purpose. Kooijman suggested that various elements were "associated with religion" particularly those in a

"The black on white cloths are very soft, pure white, and have a consistent, even texture making them very labour intensive which, in turn, may suggest a significant religious purpose."

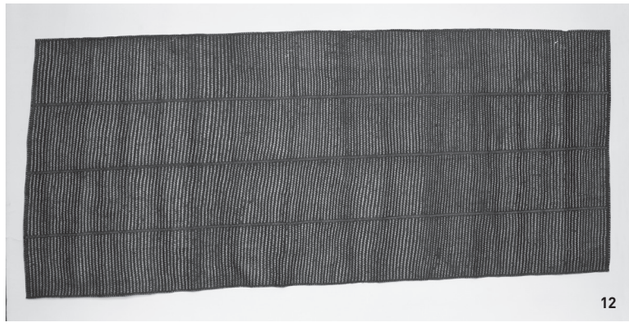

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FIGURE 10
Tapa cloth. Okaoka patterning, generated when the mid-ribs of coconut leaves are placed at oblique angles within the dying frames. British Museum Oc1986.02.61 (photo: the author, © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 11
Tapa. Cook Islands. Field Museum. Object No. 272744 (photo: © The Field Museum, A106503c).

FIGURE 12
Tapa Cloth, Rarotonga. Field Museum, Chicago. Object No. 272738 (photo: © The Field Museum, A103246).

"composition of parallel zig-zag lines or serrated bars" (1972:53). He also ascribed "serrated bars, tire treads, short lancet shaped elements running in parallel" to the Cook Islands, and most probably Rarotonga (1972:60). Neich and Pendergast illustrated a red and black wrapping from a god staff and noted that, "diamond shape motifs are associated with the sacred world of the gods" (1997:77). While it seems proximity alone has linked particular motifs to deities, it is clear that certain patterns had specific indications and affiliations because of their short-lived duration after contact. These black and white patterns disappear shortly after widespread conversion to Christianity so are likely to have been closely associated with the superhuman. Further research may link unassigned cloths with a Rarotongan origin or with particular staff gods within a certain collection. If these black on white tapa were created expressly for the ceremonial wrappings of staff gods, it is logical that once the gods were no longer relevant, the manufacture of the cloths diminished significantly. It should be noted that by the last quarter of the 19th century, the pare 'eva (mourning costume) tradition on Mangaia used black on white tapa for secular performances, which might have some correspondence to the sacred Rarotongan associations with similarly coloured cloth.

At one time, it was likely that specific narratives or histories associated with designs would have been known to ritual specialists; sadly these are now lost. Some intriguing patterns found on tapa are several black on white bark cloths with reptilian figures surrounded by ticked lozenges and diamond hatchings. There are five known examples with virtually no documentation, with various attributions including the Cook Islands, Austral Islands, and Tonga (Smithsonian E003450 and Brigham 1911:77, plate 96).[9] Kooijman and Hooper suggest that these cloths are likely from the Cook Islands and other recent evidence would support this. Kooijman based his provenance on "similar serrated design elements" which were found on a sample catalogued as Rarotongan in the British Museum (Kooijman 1972:59). Hooper pointed out that the inscription on Kew EBC42953 is not only contemporaneous with the manufacture of the cloth (earliest 1820s) but is in a "Cook Island" language (Hooper 2006:224). Fieldwork in 2008 confirmed that while the inscription was not discernable to modern Cook Islands Māori speakers, there was a general consensus that it was an archaic form signed by a marginally or newly literate individual.

The example illustrated here in Figure 13 was collected in 1838 by the United States Exploring Expedition (U.S.Ex.Ex.) and is housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. While most original Expedition tags remain on U.S.Ex.Ex. items, documentation is absent for this object and is open for interpretation. An origin of the Austral Islands has been suggested (Kaeppler, pers. comm. 2004 & 2008) which conflicts with the Cook Islands attribution by Kooijman and Hooper. These cloths could establish a solid example for the trade network suggested by Hooper that circulated ritual and political items between the central and lower Cook Islands, the Austral Islands, and the Society Islands (Hooper 2006:219). It is hoped that with five examples, all virtually identical in texture, size, decoration, and originating in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, an attribution will be forthcoming establishing them with a specific cultural origin and purpose.

While the Cook Islands elite adopted western clothing as a sign of their status, there was one exception. On ceremonial occasions tapa garments, particularly tiputa, were the clothing of choice, likely because of the previous association with genealogy, history and traditional culture.

[9] They are Kew Gardens EBC42953, Exeter Museum E1263, Smithsonian Institute (NMNH) E003450, British Museum, Oc.1910.257, Ex Hooper Collection Plate 96 whereabouts unknown.

FIGURE 13
Large, light tan bark cloth with painted designs of three stylized lizards extending over the entire length of the cloth. The spaces between the lizards and the borders at both ends are covered with linear and triangular design elements in black and dark brown. United States Exploring Expedition. Collection date 1838. Length 415 cm. Width 192 cm. Smithsonian Institution Accession Number : 66A00050. USNM No E3450. (photo: © Smithsonian Institution).

FIGURE 14
Ngati-Makea Karika (photo: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Makea_Karika_Tavaki_with_Ngati_Karaka_elders.jpg).

FIGURE 15
Tiputa or poncho made of tapa.– Aitutaki, Cook Islands (photo: © Auckland Museum and War Memorial AM13952).

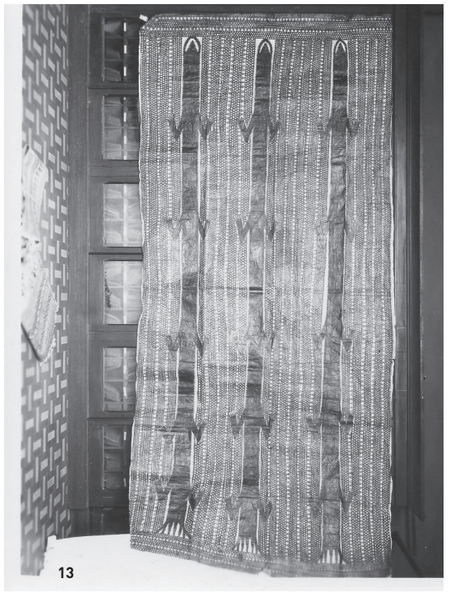
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Figure 14, an undated photograph titled Ngati-Makea Karika, depicts five men dressed in tapa and holding wooden implements. The man in the centre, presumably the Makea titleholder, wears an unpainted tapa thrown over his shoulder covering a fabric pāreu : a club leans on his shoulder. To his right a man wears a dark, plain pāreu, likely banyan, with presumably a tātua around his shoulders. Three accompanying figures wear painted cloths, two with a 7-pointed leaf motif (perhaps the branches of heaven?) on a light background. The figure second from right wears a large, dark tiputa painted with an arrangement of elongated diamonds cupped by arcs. It has a simple incision for the head and neck and nearly touches the ground, but does not have elaborate fringe, intricate painting, added rosettes or ties. Such embellishments became more prevalent in the coming decades when tiputa became smaller, more ornate, and more plentiful. By the last decades of the 19th century photographs suggest that fabric pāreu were daily dress but on significant occasions tapa clothing was used particularly by those of rank, to signify indigeneity and heritage.

An example which demonstrates the progression towards ornamentation is an undated poncho from Aitutaki (Figure 15), a light brown tiputa with long fringe and distinctive reddish orange paint. The lines of the scrolls are even, broad, and symmetrical, and they required a brush wider than the usual pandanus fruit. Special emphasis is paid to the curve of the neckline and an overall composition rather than groups of smaller motifs clustered across the garment. This suggests attention to detail and purposeful application of paint, in contrast to Mangaian pare 'eva costumes from the same period that were painted with asymmetrical, fine black lines, and seemingly rushed.

An example that depicts additional changes in form is Figure 16 collected on Mangaia in 1929 by Miss Edith Hill. Though perforated like other Mangaian tiputa discussed below, there are significant differences that represent design

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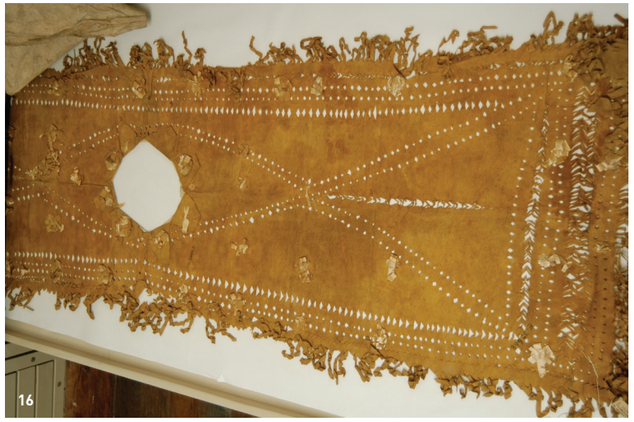
"The quantity of remaining Mangaian bark cloth items attests to the significance it had within island culture as well as the skill and technical abilities of local artists. Its social prominence appears to have enabled the tradition to survive into the first decades of the 20th century which allowed photographic documentation not readily available until the turn of the century."



innovation and invention seen at the end of major bark cloth traditions in the Cook Islands. Instead of perforations, there are simple, small incisions made by cutting horizontally into a pinched horizontal fold. The type of bark used is undetermined, though supple enough for the cuts and fringe. The light brown colour suggests something other than ʻaute. A round hole is made for the head with no details on the collar. Cuts descending from the shoulders form a diagonal cross that is edged by three concentric borders ending in a fine, short fringe. Approximately a dozen small, decorative rosettes made of a similar material have been strategically added at various points along the border on each panel.[10] In contrast to the garments of the late 19th century, tiputa of the 20th century use less material, have finer designs, and are likely fabricated from banyan or breadfruit rather than paper mulberry. Possible influences are Western textiles and fashions along with the ornamentation on other imported goods. By mid-century, it appears that what remains of the tapa tradition declines precipitously as garments replace tiputa for all occasions, though there is an occasional tunic made on Atiu and flower hair pins on Mangaia into the 21st century.

Mangaia is well represented in the literature as well as museum collections, and from this, we know that it had several diverse bark cloth traditions. In a plain form, it was known as ʻaute or tīkoru, but once decorated, it was termed parai (smear or paint) and could have been further delineated according to decoration. Bark cloth appears to have had a large social role on Mangaia, being used in the same general purposes as the other islands but has been noted as wedding dresses, mourning garments, and ceremonial attire. The quantity of remaining Mangaian bark cloth items attests to the significance it had within island culture as well as the skill and technical abilities of local artists. Its social prominence appears to have enabled the tradition to survive into the first decades of the 20th century which allowed photographic documentation not readily available until the turn of the century. Despite several variations, nearly all of the remaining tapa from Mangaia are in two general forms: tiputa most often dyed yellow with precise decorative incisions with intricate fringe and the black and white pare ʻeva mourning costumes.

Perhaps the most well known of Mangaian tapa are the renga-dyed tunics with distinctive perforations in small geometric forms which were arranged in intricate lines and patterns. Necklines were treated with zigzag edges, and long fringes hung from the sides of the garments. These ponchos are very soft, likely made from ʻaute, and nearly all contain slight beater marks visible as indentations on the cloth. The punctures were likely done with an extremely sharp metal knife or razor and are an example of a local art form flourishing with the arrival of

[10] The rosettes resemble modern ones seen on Atiu in 2008 made from hibiscus.

FIGURE 16
Mangaian tiputa. Collected 1929 Mangaia, by Miss Edith Hill (photo: © Australian Museum E32668).

metal tools. Patterns range from simple triangular forms in rows or columns to intricate round combinations of diamonds, triangles, squares, and chevrons with no apparent distinction in date.

Mourning customs played a significant role in the quantity of tapa garments and were used as visual manifestations of social rank. Kooijman reported that for the ordinary class of persons, relatives of the deceased wore a black poncho called pākoko. This was specifically left undecorated because the perforated tiputa were the prerogative of the upper classes (Kooijman 1972:55). There is some suggestion that the prerogative to wear a tiputa was significant, likely having associations with superior genealogy and mana, since wearing a pattern that did not belong to oneself was punishable by death (Buck 1944:65). Kooijman connected the intricate carving patterns of Mangaian adzes to the precise perforations found on Mangaian tiputa. He suggested that the diamond patterns

FIGURE 17
Mangaian tiputa, tapa, 19th century. Private collection (photo: courtesy Alan and Diane Marcuson, Brussels).

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Edges of tunics and pants were cut to form fringe and ornate trimmings which hung on hems and sleeves. The masks were conical with fine fringe and tassels and were painted so as to emphasize the eyes and mouth.

have an association with the "sacred function of the object" and are a symbol of dignity and power of the chiefs (Kooijman 1972:55). Because of the labour intensity and fine detail of the designs on Mangaian tiputa, an affiliation between the intense embellishment of ceremonial adzes and other Mangaian art forms with the mana of island leaders would not be unreasonable.

The other frequent examples of Mangaian tapa are black and white painted costumes that were introduced in the late 19th century, consisting of bark cloth masks, tunics, and pants called either pare 'eva or pare tāreka. The 3-piece outfits were on white, or very light, cloth painted with a combination of fine linear chevrons, zigzags, triangles, and even abstracted floral patterns and leaves. Edges of tunics and pants were cut to form fringe and ornate trimmings which hung on hems and sleeves. The masks were conical with fine fringe and tassels and were painted so as to emphasize the eyes and mouth. Often coloured fibre material, possibly coconut husk, is added to the tops and sides, almost forming hair or beards. It is common to see eyelashes, moustaches, and eyebrows surrounding the cut outs of the masks. The origins of the tradition are unclear, the most common explanation for the pare 'eva is that it was stimulated by islander missionaries returning from Melanesia where masking was commonplace (see Durrant, this volume). Though there are several photographs of islanders posing in costumes, the purpose and impetus for the events remain unknown. These pageants were likely originally ceremonial, quasi-religious events that developed into more performative, narrative re-enactments of community history. 'Eva indicates mourning, such as the extensive ceremonies for a great chief in pre-contact times, but tāreka connotes festivities. Since the tradition seems to have died out after the first decades of the 20th century, it is not likely to be revealed.

Pictured in Figure 18 is a pare 'eva group from just after the turn of the 20th century. The unmasked woman in the centre holds a drum and a long spear; other females are seated around her and hold either their masks or spears. The men appear to remain masked for the camera on the outer edge of the group. The pare 'eva costumes were used mainly at gatherings or festivals for the enactment of social narratives depicting mythical and cultural events or possibly the arrival of Christianity (Neich and Pendergast 1997:77). As part of a narrative, individual characters would be difficult to discern since the costumes and masks were virtually identical, but at the end of a performance masks were removed. A troupe of Mangaians brought some pare 'eva costumes to the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1906 which suggests that any sacred associations had passed and it was allowable to perform the ceremony in a secular circumstance for a foreign audience.

Sadly, one type of tapa mentioned by observers does not seem to have survived, a cloth called tīkoru mata'iapo which was a unique thick, white cloth made in a secret process as coverings for the gods or clothing for high chiefs and priests (Buck 1944:73). Gill reported that it was so valuable at one time that the lives of members of the Tonga'iti tribe were spared from execution so as to retain the "superior paper mulberry cloth thick as cardboard" and it was "actually worshipped by the tribe that manufactured it" (Gill 1880:90). Given its association with gods and men of rank, perhaps there were few examples to collect. With the conversion to Christianity, the tradition receded quickly.

FIGURE 18
Mangaians in ceremonial costume (photo: © Bishop Museum: SP_21695).

CONCLUSION

The cloths discussed here reflect the significant diversity of Cook Islands bark cloth and only hint at what was a vibrant and noteworthy art form. Bark cloth was a practical, functional material, but in specific contexts it had abstract value just as it did in other parts of Polynesia. Not only was it, in certain forms, the prerogative of the elite but it clothed the gods, and protected and sanctified them. It was also the material originally used to cover those newly converted to Christianity. Hopefully, identifying and publishing these few examples of tapa cloths will enable additional attributions and lead to a more complete understanding of this major art form. Further research may reveal evidence of how various materials circulated through local and long distance Polynesian trade networks and analyse the formal and functional changes in bark cloth as documentations of cultures in transition.

While the tradition has been adversely affected by circumstances of Western association, there is a renewed desire to know more about these ancient practices. On Atiu, the woman's association warmly received a presentation of the above material and discussed the possibility of reintroducing 'aute to the island. In 2008, the Mangaian Historical and Cultural Society sought to recreate the entire process of making a large sheet of tapa. They cut, processed and felted banyan shoots into a 5.5 x 2.5 metre cloth over the course of several weeks. The project was not without tribulations. It was labour intensive and without a knowledgeable adviser, materials, tools, and processes were occasionally improvised. The finished product (Fig. 19) was painted with modern paints inspired by the cloths depicted herein. It was purchased by Te Papa Tongarewa, the National Museum of New Zealand in 2009. Not only do the Mangaians have a newfound respect for earlier practitioners, but their exploration may inspire new generations of artists to manufacture tapa in the Cook Islands. Perhaps in future years, the miniature staff gods sold in Rarotongan craft shops will be wrapped in locally produced bark cloth rather than Fijian masi (tapa) as is now the case.

FIGURE 19
Mangaian tapa, created 2008, being hung for the Paperskins Exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa. 5.5 m long x 2.5 m wide. Made from aoa, or aerial roots, of the banyan tree (photo: © Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2010/06/15/tapa-stunning-artworks-in-paperskin-exhibition/).

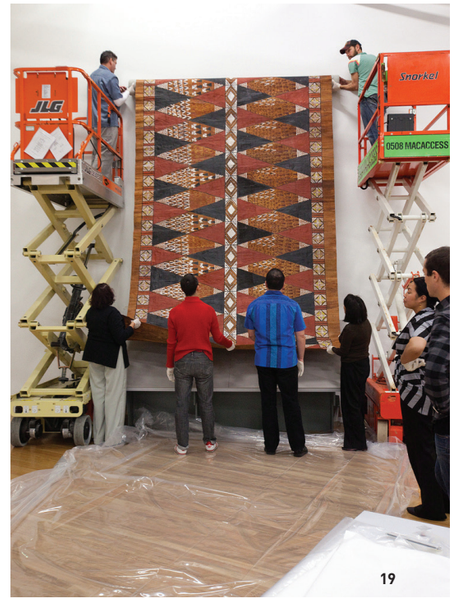

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FIGURE 20
Mangaian school students being taught tapa making at the 2008 Mangaia tapa workshop (photo: Taoi Nooroa).

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APPENDIX
MUSEUMS CONSULTED

Auckland Museum, Auckland, NZ

Bishop Museum, Honolulu, USA

British Museum, London, UK

Cambridge University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, UK

Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, NZ

Field Museum, Chicago, USA

National Museum of Scotland, UK

Otago Museum, Dunedin, NZ

Peabody Essex Museum, Massachusetts, USA

Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, NZ

GLOSSARY

aka-a-rangi	literally, roots of heaven; cloth made by combining bark from breadfruit and banyan trees; the pattern traced on this cloth
anga-kuku	*Asaphis violacea,* mussel shell
aoa	*Ficus Prolixa,* banyan; also ava
'au	*Hibiscus tiliaceus,* hibiscus
'aute	*Broussonetia papyrifera, Morus papyrifera,* paper mulberry
ava	*Ficus prolixa,* banyan; also aoa
hapa'a	a yellow dye made from turmeric
'ike or 'i'e	wooden tapa beater
ka'a	coconut husk fibre; sinnet, rope made from it
kuru	*Artocarpus altilis,* breadfruit
ma'i	fermented breadfruit
maikuku	mascot fingernails
mana	legal, moral, religious authority and power, rights, and prestige that it confers
maro	loincloth
masi	bark cloth (Fijian)
mati	*Ficus spp.,* the red berries of which are used for dye
ngaito	pattern created on tapa when the mid-ribs of the coconut leaf within the dying frame are set at a 90-degree angle (Buck 1927:78).
okaoka	pattern created on tapa when the mid-ribs of the coconut leaf within the dying frame are set at a 45-degree angle (Buck 1927:78).
ora	dye made from banyan, used to colour the covering for a woman after childbirth
pākoko	undecorated black poncho
pā'oa, pahoa	bark cloth (Aitutaki), mourning used only for the best-beloved
papa'a	European, Western
pare 'eva	traditional Mangaian costume, black and white for mourning
parai	smear or paint
pare tāreka	festival mask
pāreu	waist-wrap, kilt, skirt
pareu	"The term *pareu* refers to a distinct type of cloth and is not derived from its being used as a kilt or *pareu* [pāreu]. In fact, it is used as a bed-cover and not as a kilt" (Buck 1927:83).
pona	inner or undergarment of fine, soft tapa worn under a tiputa or other outer garment
pungavere	"red cloth, from immersion in mati berries, tou leaves and coconut cream" (Buck 1944:73).
pu'uri	'aute bark sandal
rakau takiri pa'oa	dyeing frame for the patterning of tapa cloth
rarua	type of bark cloth–white with a patterns of lines made with red dye.
renga	*Curcuma longa,* turmeric, yellow dye
tamanu	*Calophyllum inophyllum,* island mahogany
tapa	bark cloth
tātua	girdle, wrap
tīkoru	Mangaian bark cloth in a plain form
tīkoru mata'iapo	thick, white cloth made in a secret process and used as a covering for the gods or as clothing for high chiefs and priests
tiputa	poncho
tutunga	wooden anvil or board for beating tapa
umu	ground oven

Chapter Five

CLOTHING AND THE CONTINUITY OF COOK ISLANDS SOCIAL VALUES

Kalissa Alexeyeff

On 19 August 1896, Reverend John Hutchin attended a local church meeting in the Omoka village hall on the island of Tongareva (Penrhyn). He later commented, "I was pleased to see them looking so well dressed . . . One of the ladies, evidently a leader of fashion had a dress with puffed sleeves; and another young fellow I noticed wore a shirt with Omoka, Tongareva in red letters sewn upon it" (Hutchin 1896 in Campbell 1984:112). This short observation says an enormous amount about the role of clothing in Cook Islands history.

For missionaries and Cook Islanders, European dress was a visible marker of specific social values. However the same cloth and clothing did not necessarily have the same meaning for both groups. Often, missionaries perceived the success of their civilizing mission; islanders perceived higher status or allegiance to place or group. In the Cook Islands today, clothing continues to express involvement in various collectives ranging from kopu tangata (extended family), to tārekareka (sport and dance groups), to ʻōire (village organizations particularly church-based ones). The young man who had the name of the village, Omoka, and island, Tongareva, sewn on the back of his shirt in 1896 offers us an intriguing glimpse into how the means of expressing identity and affiliation through dress or ornamentation has changed — or, in many cases, has not.

The Tongareva shirt might well have been sewn less to demonstrate conversion to Christianity than to advertise place and prestige. Early European observers noted fierce competition between the two villages of Tongareva; today, this rivalry still takes place through song and oratory at religious meetings, sports days, and Christmas celebrations, which include dance and drama competitions.

Clothing (kākaʻu) is used to express familial, island, and national identity in other parts of the Cook Islands as well. T-shirts especially are used in the same way that that particular shirt in Tongareva was over 100 years ago. Many have place names printed on them, and are bought by tourists and locals alike. Many T-shirts also make use of Polynesians design elements, again demonstrating the creative use of local patterns on imported fabrics (see Figs. 10 and 11).

1

Clothing (kākaʻu) is used to express familial, island, and national identity in other parts of the Cook Islands as well. T-shirts especially are used in the same way that that particular shirt in Tongareva was over 100 years ago.

PRE-EUROPEAN GARMENTS

Pre-contact, social status and village and family affiliation were signified through tatau (tattoo, designs engraved on the skin) and on tapa (bark cloth). At the time of early European contact, Cook Islanders wore four kinds of everyday garments. Men only wore a maro (loincloth). Both sexes wore a pāreu or titi (skirt) — men wore it wrapped around the waist, women around the waist or torso. Both sexes wore tikoru (sheets of cloth worn as a cloak) and tiputa (rectangular ponchos), especially in the cooler southern islands.[1]

In the Southern Group, tapa was the main textile for these garments. Women made the majority of tapa from the bark of ʻaute (paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyrifera*) in a labour-intensive process of soaking bark in seawater, then beating until its fibres and natural glue held it together. Women then shaped the material into sheets (for details see Buck 1927:76-85). In the Northern Group, the coconut palm was the main source of material for clothing and ornaments. Women stripped, wove, and plaited the outer green leaves into skirts, loincloths, ponchos, and capes. They also soaked and processed rito (young shoots of coconut palm, *Cocos nuciferus*) before laying them out to dry into fine, white strands (also called rito) and then weaving them into garments. The only footwear used in pre-contact times was sandals, plaited from ʻau (tree hibiscus, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*), which were used for reef-fishing (Fig.1). Islanders also made temporary sun-shades and hats to lessen the glare and impact of the midday sun (Buck 1927:90-94).

For festive and ceremonial occasions, both men and women wore special clothing and adornment (rākei) such as fresh green leaves of ti (*Cordyline terminalis*, cordyline) plaited into skirts, arm and leg bands, and headdresses, or draped across the torso. Fresh flowers, pungent ferns, colourful shells, and seeds added decorative detail. Coconut oil rubbed on the body and in the hair provided fragrance and shine. Ear ornaments were common, with people inserting fragrant flowers, leaves and feathers through holes pierced into ear lobes.

[1] *See Scothorn, this volume, who has a different interpretation of tiputa.*

FIGURE 1
Tamaka kiriʻau (reef sandals), undated (photo: FE.003713#1a © Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

2

Writing in 1892, missionary William Wyatt Gill observed that each tribe wore garments with designs specific to its group. Designs marked status. The everyday tapa garments of commoners were largely undecorated, but the clothes of ariki (high chiefs) and mata'iapo and rangatira (other high-ranking individuals) and their families were bleached white in the sun or dyed yellow (usually with renga, *Curcuma longa,* turmeric), red (with berries from the mati tree, *Ficus tinctoria*, dye fig*)*, or black (with processed inner bark of the tuitui, *Aleurites moluccana,* candlenut and toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*, ironwood trees). After the dyes had set, the garments were oiled with scented coconut oil. Tapa for chiefly garb was beaten until very thin, and early observers compared it with fine white tissue. These garments commonly had fringed edges and stencilled leaves, flowers, and geometric shapes — squares, straight lines, triangles, conjoined K and Z figures, and curvilinear forms, such as wavy lines and circles. The patterns were either drawn free-hand or made by perforating the cloth using the 'snowflake' technique of folding and cutting (Küchler 2003:101). Chiefly and ceremonial clothing was made from more permanent textiles, including rau'ara *(Pandanus spurious*, weaving pandanus), hibiscus and meika (*Musa* sp., banana) leaves. These materials were decoratively woven and plaited and featured fringe, tassels, and rosettes — all design elements that are evident in dance costumes today.

Ornamentation was another signifier of rank and affiliation. Cook Islands headwear was particularly remarkable, as the image of Te Po, a Rarotongan ariki illustrates (Fig.2). His headdress was intricately constructed on a sinnet (coconut fibre or cord) frame decorated with long red and white feathers of rākoa and tavake (tropic birds, *Phaethon rubricauda and Phaethon lepturus)*, the multicoloured feathers of the kura (Rainbow lorikeet, *Vini kuhlii)*, and lengths of human hair. Feathers were a precious decorative item and used solely by high-ranking individuals. Chiefs' ceremonial regalia included other precious materials, such as large pārau (black pearl shells, *Pinctada margaritifera*) fashioned into polished breast ornaments. Pearl shells and bird feathers were valuable items because of their rarity and their aesthetic properties. People obtained pearl shells from islands in the north, and they required a large quantity of bird feathers to complete a garment. Polynesians viewed red, yellow, and white as sacred colours in their cosmology. Along with the shimmer of polished pearl shells, these colours created an iridescent effect that was central to aesthetic principles of the time.

MISSIONARY AND COLONIAL INFLUENCES

CHANGE AND ASSIMILATION

The dramatic changes brought about during missionization and colonial rule affected all aspects of Cook Islands social life. The changes came to be expressed in sartorial rules introduced by missionaries in particular. Young women were encouraged to wear their hair tied back in a modest bun, and men whose hair was also worn long were required to cut it to the short style adopted by missionary and colonial officials. Missionaries also introduced European garments for both sexes that were modelled on European clothing of the time and their adoption was considered to be a sign of conversion. Local populations, however, also adapted introduced materials creatively, assigning meaning to cloth and clothing that supplemented that of the European population.

In 1821, John Williams of the London Missionary Society (LMS) landed on the island of Aitutaki. He left two Society Islander converts, Papeiha and Rio, to proselytise and returned two years later with more Society Islanders landing them on Atiu, Ma'uke, Mitiaro, Mangaia and Rarotonga. The first European missionary, Charles Pitman, and his wife settled on Rarotonga in 1823, followed by Aaron Buzacott and his family in 1828. Rarotonga became the centre for LMS activity in the region. Takamoa Theological College, "the first training institution for native evangelists in the South Seas" (Buzacott and Sunderland 1985 [1866]: 133), was established in 1839. The pastors trained there then travelled to the northern Cook Islands, Samoa, New Hebrides and Papua New Guinea. The northern Cooks were converted later, primarily by Rarotongan teachers. The LMS went to Manihiki and Rakahanga in 1849, Tongareva in 1855 and Pukapuka in 1857. All islands of the Cooks group were nominally under Christian influence by 1864. Before cotton cloth and sewing apparatus became widely available, Christian converts donned tiputa, as an appropriately modest garment. Tiputa,

"The dramatic changes brought about during missionization and colonial rule affected all aspects of Cook Islands social life."

FIGURE 2
Te Po, a chief of Rarotonga, c.1830 print in oil colours by George Baxter (Williams 1838: frontispiece).

thought to be found only in the Society and Cook Islands pre-contact, was used by LMS missionaries as they moved west across the Pacific. Pacific Islander converts displayed their new Christian status through adoption of this item of clothing (Idiens 1990:51; Thomas 1999).

Tiputa were also fashioned into European-style garments. An exquisitely decorated tapa suit and mask from Mangaia, collected at the end of the 19th century, illustrates the synthesis between European and Islander aesthetics (Küchler 2003:105-106; Durrant, this volume). Mangaians used these items in dramatic performances. In this example, instead of shaping the tapa into rectangular ponchos, they sewed them into a sleeved shirt and trousers (albeit with tassels) (Fig.3).

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Imported cloth became more widely available in the Southern Group from the 1850s, and missionary wives organized sewing classes for local women to teach them 'respectable' domestic arts. Cook Islands women of high status were involved in politics and governance and rarely engaged in such menial tasks as garment construction. This 'lack' of domesticity alarmed missionaries, and they made concerted efforts to instil the homemaking skills considered appropriate to European women of the time.

Over time, Cook Islanders increasingly adopted European clothing. Women began wearing "Mother Hubbards," loose cotton gowns reaching from neck to ankle. The name for these garments most probably derives from the poem *Old Mother Hubbard* (by Sarah Catherine Martin published in 1805) and the accompanying illustrations of Old Mother Hubbard dressed in a simple floor-length smock. Straw bonnets and parasols became fashionable items (see Fig.4). Men began wearing European style trousers, shirts, and coats.

While missionaries viewed the adoption of European clothing as a significant marker of conversion to Christian values of piety and austerity, it appears that Cook Islanders were avid followers of European clothing trends and used imported cloth to express local status and affiliation. Men of rank adopted European clothing, particularly naval and military uniforms, as new ways of expressing their political power. Reverend George Eastman complained that women on Manihiki wore to church "ultra-fashionable gowns or ball dresses which were considered unseemly" (Eastman 1925 quoted in Scott 1991:185).

Grimshaw's account of a church service in 1903 on Mangaia offers fascinating insight into the significance and aesthetics of clothing of the time:

On Sundays, the churches are a very flower-garden of frippery, the men turning out in the most brilliant shirts, ties, and suits, the women decking themselves in long loose robes of muslin, sateen, or cheap silk, coloured in the most screaming hues — pea-green, royal blue, scarlet and orange being all strong favourites (1907:146).

Intriguingly, Cook Islanders seem to have used clothing to express either family or village affiliation — as they had tatau in pre-contact times. Grimshaw described this phenomenon as "clothing clubs":

You will see twenty or thirty women, on a Sunday morning, dressed alike in robes of vermilion satinette, and wearing huge hats, crowned by three ostrich feathers, red, yellow, and blue, arranged after the fashion of the Prince of Wales's crest (1907:146).

Efforts to Europeanize Cook Islanders continued during the British and New Zealand colonial period (1888-1965). However, officially sanctioned displays of Cook Islands culture took place during formal occasions, such as the visits of New Zealand dignitaries, Commonwealth events, and Christmas celebrations. Cook Islanders made costumes designated 'traditional' for performance events. They did not wear them against bare skin, as they had in the past, but over European clothing. Their costumes included tapa items (see above) and pāreu and pare kiri'au (dance skirts and headwear), made from hibiscus and other fibres, dyed and decorated with leaves.

Brightly coloured and patterned pāreu (cloth) was also a popular everyday item, as was the case in Tahiti (Jones 1993:86). Polynesians wore imported cloth as they had tapa garments in the past — wrapped around the waist. Men wore them in combination with European-style shirts and jackets. Grimshaw noted men on Manihiki wore "their cool easy everyday costume, of a short kilt and gay coloured singlet" (Grimshaw 1907:250). Women tied pāreu at the waist and over the top of mu'umu'u to accentuate their hip movements when dancing.

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FIGURE 3
Mangaian tiputa (poncho), c.1906, purchased at the Christchurch Exhibition, 1907 (photo: F.002764/46,50 © Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

FIGURE 4
Three unknown women, circa 1910, Cook Islands, by George Crummer. (photo: B.028287 © Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa). *Note the parasols and the mu'umu'u cut from the same cloth indicating family, village or island affiliation.*

CLOTHING AND CONTEMPORARY IDENTITY ISSUES

Cook Islands styles in the 21st century reflect, respectively, pre-European forms and the clothing of the missionary and colonial period. These garments are now classified as 'island-style' clothing and papa'a (European) clothing. The last 20 years have seen a resurgence of interest in local and traditional style that is often expressed through clothing and other forms of bodily adornment, such as tattooing. These days, clothing styles are also influenced by global fashion trends and regional styles, especially those of New Zealand, where up to 60 per cent of Cook Islanders now live.

Pāreu material forms the basis of most island-style clothing. As in the past, this fabric is brightly coloured and features bold motifs of flowers, leaves, and geometric patterns (Fig.5). Many workplaces, particularly those related to the tourism industry, have pāreu material uniforms. Men wear pāreu shirts with shorts or trousers, and women wear pāreu dresses or skirts and tops designed in the latest fashion. On formal occasions, many women wear mu'umu'u and many men wear shirts sewn, both from pāreu material. These are complemented by sweet-smelling 'ei (garlands) or 'ei katu (flower crowns) made primarily from tiare taina and tiare māori (*Gardenia* sp., gardenia) and tipani (*Plumeria* sp. frangipani). Poe (a flower tucked behind the ear) is also popular for both men and women. A common joke is that choosing to wear poe behind the left or right ear indicates whether the wearer is single or married. Whether this was practised in the past is unknown, and most people agree that choice about left or right poe is a matter of what feels comfortable, not a sign of availability! The last 10 years have seen growth in the market of artificial poe shaped from plastic material into realistic-looking flowers. This innovation probably originated in New Zealand as a response to the unavailability of tropical flowers there.

In the 21st century, variations of Mother Hubbards are worn throughout the Pacific. They are called meri blouse in Papua New Guinea, ailan dress in Vanuatu, and mu'umu'u in Hawai 'i, the Society Islands, and the Cook Islands. Mu'umu'u in the Cook Islands have come to occupy the status of national dress. While older women wear loose-fitting, knee-length mu'umu'u, younger women wear fitted, floor-length versions, which are a far cry from the sack-like garments promoted by missionaries. They are considered to be highly attractive garments that are appropriate for formal occasions. At local events, such as weddings or birthday celebrations, young women may perform dance solos in these striking dresses (Fig.6).

Island-style clothes are worn by older (and increasingly younger) men and women in non-work contexts. Men and women wear rectangles of pāreu material sarong-style (also called pāreu) in informal and largely domestic settings. Men wear them tied around the waist, and women wear them around the torso. They form the basis of costumes for 'ute (chant) performances during Te Maeva Nui (Constitution Celebrations) (Fig.7).

Most pāreu material is imported from Asia, designed for the Pacific market. A number of local designers hand paint and handprint on plain cotton and silk fabrics. These are the most expensive kind of pāreu material. Designs include block-printed geometric shapes, with patterns similar to those found in tatau and carving. Screen-printing and free-hand painted designs of flowers, sea-life, and other aspects of the natural environment are also widely utilised.

FIGURE 5
Bolts of fabric (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 6
TAV's *mu'umu'u* style dress (photo: Ellena Tavioni).

FIGURE 7
Pāreu costumes for 'ute, Aitutaki island performing at Te Maeva Nui, 2014 (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa. Courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Development).

FIGURE 8
Nuku day white church clothing: Reu Urirau, Isobel Urirau and Tiaina Urirau 1997 (photo: the author).

The making of pāreu is not restricted to fashion designers; many women make pāreu at home, some to sell at the market and others for presentation as gifts, particularly at weddings. Women usually make these pāreu by tie-dying fabric in a multitude of colours. They lay the wet material on the lawn to dry, and sometimes press flowers and leaves from the garden onto the material in order to leave impressions. Stencils of words (such as island names), stylized flowers, and tropical fruit are also popular design features.

Clothing and colour continue to signify chiefly or titled status in contemporary Cook Islands society. This is most obvious in ceremonial situations, such as chiefly investitures, which involve the ritual dressing of a chief in tapa garments, including intricately woven belts and headdresses that replicate what is known of pre-European clothing. In everyday contexts high-ranked individuals might wear all-white clothing, of both island and Western style, to signify their status.

Although Christian converts might have preferred brightly coloured garments in the late 19th and the 20th centuries, observations and images from the same time period indicate that missionaries promoted all white outfits as a symbol of the wearers' acceptance of Christianity. Members of the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC) don white clothing on White Sunday, the first Sunday of every month (Fig.8). White clothing is also common at Nuku, a pageant held annually on 26 October to celebrate the arrival of Christianity in the Cook Islands in 1821 (see Gragg, this volume). So, as well as signifying social rank, white clothing has come to indicate Christian ideas of rebirth and purity.

Cook Islanders are continuing to amalgamate local and imported materials and styles in order to create distinctive clothing and articles of adornment.

One particularly arresting example is the pare (hats) worn by women to church. Women in and from the Northern Group weave hats that resemble panama or boater hats from rito and decorate them with polished pearl shell insets. Rito fans, bags, purses, and flowers are also in demand by women in the Southern Group, in Cook Islander communities in New Zealand and in the tourism industry (Fig.9). Similarly, Cook Islands women wear black pearls cultivated in the Northern Group and from further afield (for example, the Society Islands, Australia and China). These pearls are strung into necklaces, bracelets, anklets and set into pins, rings, and earrings. Pearl quality, quantity and design can indicate wealth and social standing.

Cook Islanders also adopt wholly imported materials to express local style and identity. The most innovative and vibrant area of production involves T-shirt and polo-shirt design. A number of retail outfits print lettering and designs on T-shirts for the local and tourist markets. Many are humorous commentary on global cultural products, such as the CNN T-shirt with the American broadcast company's acronym rebranded as Coconut Network News and the red T-shirt with 'Cook Islands' written like the famous Coca-Cola script (Fig.10).

Other shirts manifest engagement with local kinship issues and belonging. Tere (travelling) groups for sports and dance events have T-shirts produced as a collective uniform to advertise the purpose of the trip and the group's island or village of origin. With Cook Islands extended families spread across the globe,

FIGURE 9
Rito fan (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 10
Cook Islands T-shirt. 2010 (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 11
Melbourne-Aitutaki /Teupokoenua-Melbourne Tere Pati T-shirt 1996 (photo: the author).

FIGURE 12
Uniform for Orama dance troupe, 1998 (photo: the author).

important family events and reunions bring together members. Large numbers of family members who travel abroad or to the family's island of origin might wear T-shirts printed with their family name, date, and location of a family reunion. A group of Aitutakians residing in Melbourne, Australia had a special shirt for a tour 'home' to the Cook Islands in 1996. The logo 'Teupokoenua-Melbourne' represented this journey (Teupokoenua is an alternative name for the village of Amuri, Aitutaki). A coconut tree visually represented the islands, and a kangaroo symbolized Australia.

Many groups have a 'formal' pāreu uniform for official events, such as church services, and a T-shirt uniform for other occasions, such as sports events and travel. One of the most striking examples of the use of pāreu uniforms occurs each year during the koni raoni (literally, dance round) celebrations held on Aitutaki over the Christmas period. Members from one village travel around the island on cars and motorbikes, stopping to dance at the other five villages, a process that takes all day. The performing group members are dressed in brilliantly coloured uniforms, or T-shirts, proclaiming their purpose. They also wear hats woven from coconut fronds, leafy dance-skirts, and necklaces made from flowers and sweets — the latter providing energy throughout the long day. As the day progresses, the whole island is swept up in a display of collective belonging expressed through dance, music — and a shared bolt of cloth.

CONCLUSION

Throughout Cook Islands history, clothing has been used to express collective identity. It has also been used to express distinction — the status of titled individuals and families, or Christians versus non-Christians. With the incorporation of foreign fabrics, textiles and designs, the significance of clothing in the presentation of issues of belonging and place continues in innovative and creative forms. It is remarkable that, despite the cheap and widespread availability of European store-bought clothing, island-style clothing remains important to the expression of cultural pride and belonging.

FIGURE 13
Kalissa Alexeyeff during her doctoral fieldwork 1997, with Gina Keenan-Williams (L), Vaea Melvin (R) and baby, Tia Mai Williams (photo: Tuteru Tuteru).

> ***Throughout Cook Islands history, clothing has been used to express collective identity.***

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GLOSSARY

ariki	high chief
'aute	*Broussonetia papyrifera,* paper mulberry
'au	*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, tree hibiscus
'ei	garland
'ei katu	flower crown
kaparima	action song/dance
kākaʻu	clothing, cloth, material
koni raoni	annual celebrations held on Aitutaki over the Christmas period
kura	*Vini kuhlii,* rainbow lorikeet
maro	loincloth
mataʻiapo	sub-district (tapere) chief
mati	*Ficus tinctoria,* berries used to produce a red dye
meika	banana
muʻumuʻu	loose-fitting dress with high neckline and sleeves
Nuku	annual pageant held 26 October to commemorate the arrival of Christianity in the Cook Islands
ʻōire	village
papaʻā	European
pārau	*Pinctada margaritifera,* black lipped pearl-oyster, fashioned into ornaments
pāreu	length of cloth wrapped around the body
poe	flower tucked behind the ear
rākei	special costume or adornment
rākoa	*Phaethon rubricauda,* red tailed tropic bird
rangatira	junior chief
rauʻara	*Pandanus spurious*, weaving pandanus
renga	*Curcuma longa,* turmeric, used to produce a yellow dye
rito	young shoot of coconut palm, the straw made from it
sinnet	coconut fibre or cord
tārekareka	sports, games, entertainment
tapa	bark cloth
tatau	tattoo
tavake	*Phaethon lepturus,* white tailed tropic bird; its feathers
tere	travelling party
Teupokoenua	the village of Amuri, Aitutaki
ti	*Cordyline fruticosa,* cordyline
tiare taina, tiare Māori	*Gardenia* sp., gardenia
tikoru	length of material worn as a cloak
tipani	*Plumeria* sp., frangipani
tiputa	poncho
titi	skirt
toa	*Casuarina equisetifolia*, Pacific ironwood
Tongareva	Penrhyn
tuitui	*Aleurites moluccana*, candlenut

Chapter Six

TIVAIVAI
ON AND BELOW THE SURFACE

Andrea Eimke

AT FIRST GLANCE

A 21st birthday celebration. The walls of our island's main hall radiate a firework of colours. Uni-coloured cotton fabric, cut out snowflake-style to form an overall floral pattern, has been sewn with a multitude of tiny stitches to a contrasting background the size of a double-bed sheet. Large stylized flowers, their contours and inner details enhanced by intricate hand embroidery in multi-coloured pearl cotton thread,[1] have been artfully arranged in rotating symmetry on the broadcloth background. On a peacock chair centre-stage, tens of thousands of thumbnail-sized fabric squares, joined to create an overall mosaic, form a symmetrical arrangement of large flowers and leaves framed by a patterned band. They are backed with a single-colour cotton sheet, the edges, folded to the front, serving as binding.

These strikingly beautiful textile creations are called tivaivai (on Rarotonga also spelt tivaevae). Their motifs are mostly floral; however, one can find such plants as taro or philodendron, such fruits as pineapples and grapes; shells; butterflies; birds; fans; chandeliers; and the occasional candlestick on tivaivai destined for 21st or other birthday celebrations. Tivaivai can be compared with the many different patchwork quilts that are part of the textile heritage of many countries around the world. However, quilts similar to tivaivai are made only in French Polynesia-where they are called tifaifai – and the Hawaiian Islands. There, they are commonly known by their English term 'Hawaiian quilt' – in the indigenous language, kapa moe – and differ from their south-east Polynesian cousins by an additional layer of batting and the rich hand-quilting that holds together the sandwich thus formed.

THE HISTORY OF POLYNESIAN PATCHWORK

Attributing the origin of these east Polynesian quilts to exact dates or teachers is difficult. The diary of Lucy Thurston, wife of one of the first missionaries to reach the Hawaiian Islands, dates what she calls "the first sewing circle" on board the brig *Thaddeus* to "Monday morning April 3rd [1820]" (Shaw 1996:12). It is generally believed that the wives of Christian missionaries who established their posts in Polynesia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were the first to introduce to the island women the new fabrics and techniques of patchwork and quilt making (see, for example, Jones 1973). Probably by 1800, Hawaiians and Tahitians, respectively, had already been exposed to fabric and sewing skills as a result of the many trading voyages across the Pacific that followed the earlier visits of exploration. While Hawaiians claim to have been the first to develop the Polynesian quilt (Hammond 1986), the fact that a thriving cotton industry existed in Tahiti as early as 1821 strengthens the theory that the first Polynesian piecework quilts were made in Tahiti (Poggioli 1988). That may well be correct, if one recalls that the first Hawaiian quilts were not piecework, but appliqué.

Proof that cloth was in equally high demand in the Cook Islands lies in the fact that cotton production and cloth manufacture and printing were well established on Rarotonga within 25 years of the arrival of the first European missionaries in 1823 (Gilson 1980:44-47). At that time, the acquisition of textile skills was deemed important for the education of young aristocratic ladies in England (e.g., Bawden 1991, Parker 1996). From early missionaries, we learn that their wives industriously promoted needlework skills. The first printed book that mentions Cook Islands tivaivai is a travel record, which described the taste and home decoration skills of the author's Rarotongan hostess, Mrs Taylor (Wragge 1906:140). A year later, Beatrice Grimshaw illustrated her travel diary with impressive descriptions of appliqué bed covers and photographs of piecework tivaivai taken at what seems to have been one of the earliest public tivaivai shows staged on Aitutaki (Grimshaw 1907).

The prevailing style of Hawaiian quilts was appliqué; that of French Polynesians was piecework and appliqué. While both styles were introduced into the Cook Islands, a third style – one that developed predominantly in the Cook Islands and over the years became distinctive – was the embroidered appliqué. It is unclear when this style first appeared in the Cooks and who introduced the use of embroidery to tivaivai-making. However, British patchwork was often "combined with embroidery stitches which were used as a means of covering raw edges,

[1] 2-ply cotton thread that appears like rope with beads (pearls).

1

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FIGURE 1
Pū and Paua (Conch and Clam), a tivaivai manu designed and cut by Patikura Jim, sewn by Tangata Edwards (private collection of Tangata Edwards, Atiu; photo: Andrea Eimke).

FIGURE 2
Kaute (Hibiscus), a multi-coloured tivaivai manu karakara designed, cut, and sewn by Patikura Jim, Atiu (private collection of Tata Crocombe, Rarotonga; photo: Andrea Eimke).

3

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as well as attaching the applied patterns to the background" (Colby 1983:21). According to Rongokea, three Catholic nuns from Tahiti arrived on Rarotonga in 1885 and taught quilting and embroidery at the local Catholic school (Rongokea 2001). It is possible that the embroidered appliqué tivaivai developed following their teaching.

TIVAIVAI
TECHNIQUES AND FORM

Tivaivai taorei

Mosaic piecework, described in the Cook Islands Māori language as tivaivai taorei, is one of the first two styles of quilt-making introduced to the island women. Depending on the size of the finished tivaivai, up to 80,000 individual pieces are joined together to form an overall mosaic. The oldest tivaivai taorei existing today date to around 1935. They are made of muslin, a fine, light-weight material that could easily be ripped into strips and then cut into squares, diamonds, or hexagons, the most common individual shapes in a tivaivai taorei.

The common translation of the word taorei is handkerchief. Why would a pieced textile the minimum size of a double bed be called a handkerchief? There are two possible answers.

FIGURE 3
Dorice Reid's (the late Te Tika Mata'iapo's) first tivaivai tātaura, designed and cut by her grandmother and made by the 18-year-old Dorice in the early 1970s (private collection of Dorice Reid, Te Tika Mata'iapo, Rarotonga; photo: Andrea Eimke).

FIGURE 4
Tivaivai display on Aitutaki in the early 1900s (Grimshaw 1907:135).

The first answer relates to the use of pieces of muslin for kerchiefs and handkerchiefs. Handkerchiefs have been defined as ". . . the square of fine linen formerly employed by women to cover the head, and more recently also used in the hand. . . They are produced. . . of cambric, cotton and muslin" (Caulfield 1972:250). The American anthropologist Margaret Mead mentions in her autobiography being given a stack of pieces of coloured muslin with which "to wipe the kids' noses," when she embarked on her field trip to the South Pacific in the 1920s (Mead 1978:118). It is possible that the name taorei refers to such coloured pieces of muslin that may have been used as the basic material for the piecework quilts of early times.

A second explanation is worth considering, namely transliteration. Tivaivai taorei used to form an important part of a young girl's dowry. The English word dowry pronounced the Cook Islands way sounds like taorei – the newer of the two Cook Islands Māori-English dictionaries (Buse & Taringa 1996) translates 'dowry' as 'o'ora.

The variation in motifs that pattern tivaivai taorei is manifold, so is the shape of their individual components.

FIGURE 5
Detail of a tivaivai taorei made by Ruta Tixier circa 1940s (private collection of the late Parau Taruia, Rarotonga; photo: Andrea Eimke).

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Diamonds
Bound by their basic shape, many of the diamond-shaped patches create geometric patterns, such as squares or diamonds in concentric rows of contrasting colours or, when worked in a circle, stars – translated as etu. The geographical remoteness of the islands and their makers' thriftiness have resulted in a clever combination of piecework and appliqué: whole and parts of pieced stars are applied to a solid-colour background, which at the same time acts as backing to protect the seam allowances from fraying. They are similar to many European and American quilts with star patterns.

Octagons and Hexagons
Tivaivai based on the arrangement of octagons and hexagons in repetitive symmetry are probably among the rarest. Hexagons can be derived from a square or a rectangle. Because the hexagonal shape resembles the pattern on a turtle's carapace, these tivaivai are called pakā ʻonu (the carapace of a turtle). The hexagons are not pieced together over a paper foundation, but are placed free-hand. The precision and skill that some of them display is therefore all the more praiseworthy. Many tivaivai are sometimes pieced together to form a geometric pattern of rings that rotate around a centre patch. This is one of the most popular hexagon patterns and is called Grandmother's Flower Garden. More elaborate patterns, such as starfish and anchor motifs, require great design and planning skills.

FIGURE 6
Etu (Star), a tivaivai taorei (private collection of Nga Mokoroa, a taʻunga tivaivai [quilt designer] on Atiu; photo: Andrea Eimke).

FIGURE 7
Detail of a tivaivai taorei paka onu (turtle carapaces, hexagons) (private collection of Kimiora Samuel, Mangaia; photo: Andrea Eimke).

Squares
Without doubt, the most popular basic shape for taorei is the square. When it comes to designing patterns, it is the easiest – comparable today to the pixilation of a digitized image. The plaited pandanus mats may have served early tivaivai designers as substitutes for graph paper. In modern time, one could easily construct a tivaivai taorei pattern using a graphic computer program. Some of my informants were inspired by counted cross-stitch pattern books, and some of the more ornamental tivaivai patterns could well have been derived from those found on cross-stitch samplers. Many tivaivai taorei show large, single blossoms, buds, and leaves, rotated around a centre point and either framed or divided by bands of ornamental patterning. Others consist of a number of smaller motifs, such as flowers, crosses, crowns, etc arranged in an overall repetition.

The cut squares are threaded on a string in the order they need to be joined in order to form the pattern. The first tivaivai taorei were sewn diagonally. Experts were even able to sew two rows at a time, which required great concentration. The advantage of sewing diagonally is that it is possible to use a continuous thread. The disadvantage is that it is hard to correct a counting mistake. Nowadays, some tivaivai makers join the pieces to create rows and then join those rows together. This method is also used in machine-sewing. The blocks resulting from hand-piecing are triangles that can be individually sewn by up to eight women, friends or family members, a collaboration that speeds completion of the tivaivai. Sewing resembles handwriting in that no two persons sew in exactly the same way. Because the quilt has so many small squares, variations in size of patch and seam allowance add up and can lead to considerable size variations among the individual blocks. These differences result in the distortion of the square shape of the finished tivaivai.

To protect the fragile seam allowances exposed on the reverse side from fraying, all piecework tivaivai are backed by bed sheets – or lengths of mainly uni-coloured fabric joined together – large enough to be folded over the raw edges and create a frame around the pattern. This binding is a great way to cover any imperfection in shape. Because so much fabric is involved in making a taorei, today's tivaivai, which are no longer made of lightweight muslin but broadcloth, are quite heavy. Fabrics are usually not pre-washed, so the risk of running colours and fabrics shrinking in different ways is great. The finished quilt top is therefore rarely washed. Instead, the backing is often sewn on with large stitches that are easy to unpick, so that it can be removed, cleaned, and replaced if soiled or ripped.

FIGURE 8
When only a teenager, Dorice Reid (the late Te Tika Mataʻiapo) was part of the family group of mothers, sisters, and daughters who sewed this tivaivai taorei. The pattern is locally called matirita (chrysanthemum) (private collection of Dorice Reid, Te Tika Mataʻiapo, Rarotonga; photo: Andrea Eimke).

FIGURE 9
Detail of a tivaivai taorei designed and sewn by Vereara Maeva and her sewing group. Composed of 80,000 one-inch squares, the rose-pattern was inspired by counted cross-stitch (private collection of Tata Crocombe, Rarotonga; photo: Andrea Eimke).

Tivaivai manu

The other technique first introduced in the early 19th century is the needle-turn appliqué. The so-called tivaivai manu consists of two layers of contrasting single-colour fabric. The upper layer is folded in halves, quarters, sixths, or eighths, and the resulting segment is cut in an overall pattern through all layers. Once unfolded, the pattern is tacked in place with large stitches, the cut edges of the resulting snowflake-style pattern are turned under, and the piece is appliquéd to its contrasting background. When hand-sewing, a matching cotton thread is used for fine, nearly invisible, hem or slip stitches. A contrasting firmly twisted embroidery thread can form raised rows of zigzag, knot, or blanket stitches that visually enhance the effect of the pattern's outline. Newer tivaivai are sometimes machine-appliquéd, either with a narrow zigzag or by outlining the pattern with satin stitch.

Paper-cutting was a popular pastime of Victorian ladies in the late 19th century. The artform developed in China in approximately 600 AD. Reaching its peak in the 17th century, it spread to Europe and, with German and Swiss migrants – later known as Pennsylvania Dutch – to the United States. British quilters identified the paper cuts as a possibility for new designs, which they cut from Turkey-red[2] dyed fabric and applied to a white background (Bawden 1991). Whether the cut-out patterns were first introduced to Tahitians by British teachers or to Hawaiians by New England missionary wives can no longer be determined. However, the Polynesian women took to this form of patterning because it appealed to their love of nature and because they could relate it to their use of tapa (bark cloth). Soon a quilt style of its own with a distinctive Polynesian quality developed; the Cook Islanders named it tivaivai manu.

[2] Turkey red is a dye. Its much-sought secret Turkish recipe was uncovered in the 1730s by the Dutch and in 1747 by the French (Finlay 2002:206-207).

FIGURE 10
Crowns, a tivaivai manu designed and cut by Patikura Jim, maker unknown (private collection of Tira Tararo, Atiu; photo: Andrea Eimke).

Why did early Cook Islands tivaivai makers choose this name? Manu translates as bird; the Cook Islands word for kite is also manu. Would drawing the patterns on cloth have resembled the hand-drawing of patterns on the bark-cloth kites? Or did the pronunciation just change over time from an original term, mangu? Parai mangu is the name given by Mangaians to a type of bark cloth dyed black by immersion in the mud of taro swamps and rubbed with a mixture of turmeric and grated coconut (Buck 1944:73; see also Scothorn, this volume). A two-layered mourning poncho is part of the British Museum collection. Its manufacture can be compared to the appliqué of tivaivai (Küchler & Eimke 2009). The top layer consists of cut-out black tapa, perhaps similar to parai mangu (Buck 1944:73). These are only speculations: those who chose the name for this technique have taken their secret to the grave along with their tivaivai.

Today, tivaivai manu are often the least appreciated because, despite taking four to six weeks to complete, they are the fastest to make. Sometimes, they are given away with the pattern just basted to the background for the recipient to finish the sewing. They are, however, the most difficult to design. A successful pattern for a tivaivai manu requires good understanding of space, symmetry, and compositional balance, and the cutting demands great skill and expertise. This is the reason why most women do not design and cut their own tivaivai. Rather, they commission an expert, called ta'unga, to do it for them. The secret of designing the cut-out pattern for a tivaivai manu lies in knowing where to keep the pattern connected.

The traditional tivaivai manu consist of two contrasting colours only, and the symmetry is necessarily mirrored. However, some tivaivai designers might have considered this restrictive when wanting to transmit the happy, multi-coloured tropical environment of Polynesia. Tivaivai karakara or multi-coloured tivaivai are sewn in the same manner, but they have patterns that are built from cut-outs in various colours. Because the overall pattern has been cut apart, this allows greater variability of design.

FIGURES 11A & B
Birds, a tivaivai manu designed, cut, and sewn by Kimiora Samuel, Mangaia (collection of the artist; photo: Andrea Eimke).

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FIGURE 12
Riri Vai (Water Lily), a tivaivai tātaura (detail) designed, cut, and embroidered by Kimiora Samuel, ta'unga tivaivai (quilt designer) on Mangaia (private collection of the artist; photo: Andrea Eimke).

Tivaivai tātaura

With the development of embroidered appliqué, the Cook Islands women created their most distinctive tivaivai style, the tātaura. Tā is a causative prefix, taura means thread, so tātaura translates simply as embroider. In contrast to the tivaivai manu, the tivaivai tātaura allows its designer maximum freedom. It is built from a single-colour background fabric on which large motifs are arranged freely, often in rotational symmetry radiating from a central point.

Cook Islands women take great pride in displaying their embroidery skills and extensive repertoire of stitches. Because tivaivai are large and need to be seen from a distance, the firmly twisted embroidery thread, these days mainly pearl cotton thread, is often used double in order to give the tivaivai tātaura additional texture.

Tivaivai – ties and treasures

Like all Pacific Islanders, Cook Islanders have a strong spiritual connection to their land and to nature. The spiritual relationship with their world is reflected in their tivaivai, which, while offering depictions of nature, also try to capture the essence of their chosen motifs as living entities – just as these have left their imprints in the artist's mind. The tivaivai allow and inspire the viewer's freedom of imagination.

Tivaivai play an important part in the unfolding of a Cook Islander's life. Even before a baby is conceived, the future mother may have started to plan the sewing of a tivaivai for her son or daughter. While the child grows in her womb, she embodies her love in the stitches that shape her expanding tivaivai. Important stages in a Cook Islander's life are marked by tivaivai. Whether it is the first birthday celebration, a firstborn son's haircutting ceremony, a 21st birthday, a wedding, or funeral, people have used tivaivai for nearly 200 years to set the stage and to mark the place, occasion, and honoured subject as special.

Perhaps one of tivaivai's most surprising uses, in the eyes of non-Pacific Islanders, is their use as a shroud which is buried with the deceased. Most Cook Islanders' graves are erected in front of their houses – visible signs of the family's close spiritual connection, and of the deceased's ties to the land. The ceremonial unveiling of the headstone brings the scattered family back together in celebrating the memory of the dead. The removal of layered lace cloths, blankets, and tivaivai from the headstone can be regarded as a final severance of the deceased's material ties to family and community, and the conversion of the soul into an image in the family members' memory.

Tivaivai form an important part of a family's taonga (wealth, status), which traditionally denotes their rank and social position. The materiality of this wealth is documented during tutaka (regular home inspections),[3] when women proudly decorate their homes with their latest creations of precious tivaivai. In out-migration, this 'treasure' is shared and forms an important bond between those remaining in the homeland and the migrants. Just as a tivaivai is patched together of individual fabrics, the Cook Islands nation is a patchwork of islands. Politically self-governing since 1965, the strong ties to New Zealand remain evident in the citizenship that Cook Islanders and New Zealanders share. The vast majority of Cook Islanders now reside outside their island country, scattered, like their home islands, in clusters across New Zealand, Australia and, to a minor extent, the United States and Europe. It would exceed the scope of this chapter to explain the intricacies of Polynesian exchange traditions; however, what can be said here is that the gift in exchange can be seen as the "embodiment" of its maker (Küchler & Eimke 2009, Gell 1998). Through tivaivai, family members both remain 'in touch' with their origin and maintain their status in the community.

Tivaivai are also used to temporarily include outsiders as guests of honour into the community. Tivaivai may decorate their seats – car seat, litter, chair – and, in very special cases, even cover the ground over which they walk.

Tivaivai are, however, not just decorative artefacts. They are much more than what meets the eye, as can be deduced from their use.

Their composition can be related to the notion of fractal[4] personhood, which was given form in the ancient staff gods and which lives on in the ability of many Cook Islanders to memorize and recite their genealogy as far back as some 47 generations. The use of sheets of beaten bark – today generally known as tapa – in religious rites and traditional customs of pre-European times is reflected in the

[3] 1926 saw the formation of Te Au Va'ine (women's committees) "to encourage good husbandry and good housekeeping" (Scott 1991:181). Submitted to three-monthly committee tutaka (inspections) of house and garden, village women could earn points with which their villages could compete for an annual cup. The custom has continued to the present day on all inhabited islands.

[4] In mathematics, fractals (term coined by Benoit B. Mandelbrot in 1975) are "complex shapes with the property of self-similarity . . . . Rather like holograms that store the entire image in each part of the image, any part of a fractal can be repeatedly magnified, with each magnification resembling all or part of the original fractal. This phenomenon can be seen in objects like snowflakes and tree bark" (Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 2006).

use and purpose of tivaivai today. Cloth was associated with mana (divine agency) and its harnessing. This idea continues in such beliefs as Akana's: that "the work and love involved in making the beautiful quilts invests them with 'much mana'" (Akana 1986:5) – a reason why some tivaivai, especially unfinished ones, follow their makers into the grave.

Tivaivai reflect how Cook Islanders perceive their world and people, their attitude towards belonging and sharing and their connection of past and present spiritual and material values. They can therefore be considered the ideal ambassadors of their culture overseas.

THE ART OF TIVAIVAI AND THE ARTISTS

While the symbolism of west Polynesian tapa patterns is echoed in today's printed fabrics, most east Polynesian bark cloth did not make use of patterns' iconic qualities. Tivaivai do not have traditional patterns that perpetuate symbolic meanings beyond place and time. The finished cloth as a whole and its "technical execution" carry "the full representational capacity" (Küchler & Eimke 2009:103). Indeed, many of the motifs that now form part of the tivaivai designers' repertoire, such as flowers that grow in only colder climates, originated in foreign countries. This independence from traditional patterning gives today's tivaivai a uniquely personal quality that may have been the reason for its easy acceptance into overseas art galleries. Alternatively, it is often difficult to think of tivaivai as individual art works, as seen through the lens of European culture, because tivaivai cannot always be regarded as the creation of one single person and because many remain anonymous works.

FIGURE 13
One by one, close family members and friends remove layered tivaivai from the grave to unveil the headstone (photo: Silke Loeser).

"Rarely do tivaivai makers design, cut, and sew their tivaivai by themselves. Many tivaivai emerge from the shared effort of a sewing group, and individuals in the group can use the same pattern for their own tivaivai."

Rarely do tivaivai makers design, cut, and sew their tivaivai by themselves. Many tivaivai emerge from the shared effort of a sewing group, and individuals in the group can use the same pattern for their own tivaivai. Traditionally, the designing and cutting of tivaivai are commissioned from a ta'unga, an expert in tivaivai design. Some believe that the ta'unga's talent is a God-given gift for which ta'unga cannot ask for payment and requestors cannot offer payment, so as not to cause offence. Some tivaivai owners claim that the person who chose the motif, bought the fabrics and thread, and selected the colours is the actual designer, and that the creator of the pattern merely lent to the project her visual imagination, drawing skills, and expertise. Some claim that, once the services of the designer/cutter-and sometimes the seamstress or embroiderer – have been paid for, their involvement with the tivaivai is finished and their names need not be remembered. Though the art of tivaivai design and making is primarily exercised to fulfil a traditional and social function – rather than in pursuit of personal fame and financial gains – a ta'unga's outstanding talent sometimes earns her special recognition and high respect, and her services are much sought.

Sharing every tivaivai, its makers, and its story would exceed the scope of this chapter. Further information may be gleaned from other books that also present portraits of famous past and present ta'unga tivaivai and tivaivai makers, such as Vereara Maeva, Parau Taruia, Tokerau Munro, Kimiora Samuel, Nga Mokoroa, and Patikura Jim, to name but a few (e.g., Rongokea 2001, Küchler & Eimke 2009).

Today's fast pace and the increasing commitments of individuals in the dwindling population of the Cook Islands are threats to the survival of such a time-intensive art as hand-sewn tivaivai. Women have started to machine sew their tivaivai, especially those that are not destined for family heirlooms and exchange but are offered for sale. Tivaivai sewn or printed in low-wage countries can now be bought from shops on Rarotonga. Sheets painted or dyed tivaivai-style are beginning to replace the precious treasures in ceremonial use.

In an effort to draw attention to the importance of this unique textile art form, collections of tivaivai have been exhibited with overwhelming success in galleries, museums, and international textile art conventions in New Zealand, Australia, the United States, and Europe. As artist-in-residence in 2007, Ani O'Neill exhibited her tivaivai-inspired installation at the Suter Te Araroi o Whakatu Gallery in Nelson, New Zealand. In 2007 at the National Museum on Rarotonga, members of the Cook Islands artist community celebrated tivaivai with an exhibition of remarkable art works in different mediums, drawing inspiration from their aesthetic quality, history, and social role.

Even though the making of tivaivai in strictly traditional ways has declined in the Cook Islands, tivaivai remains a highly respected art form that will live on in modern forms. Tivaivai continue to enchant their makers, their viewers, and their collectors.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Andrea Eimke was born in Germany. After a career as translator and interpreter, she moved in 1983 with her husband to Atiu (Cook Islands). She is formally trained in embroidery. As co-founder and director of the Atiu Fibre Arts Studio, she became involved with tapa and tivaivai making in 1986. She was instrumental in the establishment of the Cook Islands Tivaivai Association. Serving as its vice president from 1998 to 2007, she curated a number of national and international tivaivai exhibitions. Her dedication to, and research of, tapa and tivaivai culminated in a book on tivaivai co-authored with Dr Susanne Küchler (see below). In 2010, she graduated with a Master's degree (with Honours) in Art and Design.

Andrea Eimke
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www.andreaeimke.com

FIGURE 14
Andrea Eimke working on a tivaivai (photo: Juergen Manske-Eimke).

FIGURE 15
Cook Islands family posing before tivaivai, c.1910 (photo: George Crummer, Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

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GLOSSARY

etu	star
kapa moe	patchwork or appliqué quilt (Hawaiian)
kaute	hibiscus
mana	divine agency
manu	bird, kite
manu karakara	colourful bird or kite
matirita	commonly known as chrysanthemum for quilts
'o'ora	dowry
pakā onu	turtle carapace
parai mangu	cloth dyed with mud and treated with turmeric and coconut (Mangaian)
paua	clam
pū	conch
riri vai	water lily
taorei	(hand)kerchief
tā-	causative prefix
tapa	beaten bark cloth
taonga	wealth, status
tātaura	embroider
taura	thread
ta'unga	expert
ta'unga tivaivai	quilt designer
Te Au Va'ine	women's committee
tifaifai	patchwork or appliqué quilt (Tahitian)
tivaevae	patchwork or appliqué quilt (Rarotongan spelling)
tivaivai	patchwork or appliqué quilt
tivaivai karakara	multicoloured tivaivai
tivaivai manu	quilt with needle-turn appliqué with two layers of contrasting single-colour fabric
tivaivai taorei	quilt with design of piecework of, e.g., squares, diamonds, hexagons
tivaivai tātaura	quilt with embroidered, appliquéd motifs on a single-colour background
tutaka	regular home inspection

Chapter Seven

EVOLVING PATTERNS OF IDENTITY
VISUAL OBSERVATIONS . . . .

Kay George

For the past twenty two years, I have painted and screen-printed textiles to be used in clothing, soft furnishings, and large wall hangings, as well as created acrylic paintings on canvas and wood, mainly for the tourist market. Much of this work has been in response to the environment, culture, and society in which I live. I am a multi media artist with a studio/gallery on Rarotonga.

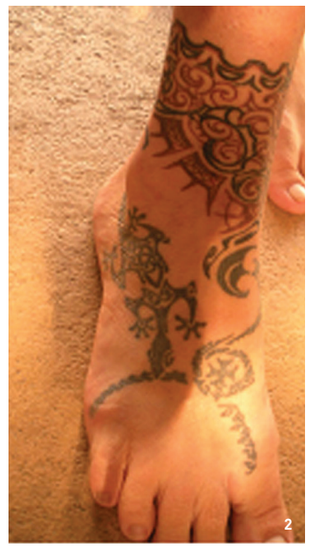
Being of European descent and married to a Cook Islander, I am an outsider with a degree of access into the Cook Islands way of life. Since arriving on Rarotonga in 1988, I have observed many social changes. The project, described here, focuses on one aspect of those changes – the changes in Cook Islands women's adornment.

A catalyst for the project was a simple black and white photograph taken of my father and my mother (who is pregnant with me) photographed as they walked down a street in Rotorua, New Zealand. The photo (Fig.1) shows the cars, clothes, hairstyles, and shoes of another era. Immediately, it evokes a memory of days long gone and provides a document to reflect on social change. Over the years spent in the Cook Islands, I have kept boxes of my own photographs that I continually look at to compare elements of the past to the present day. These form part of the materials used in this project.

During the 1960s, artist Andy Warhol, famous for his repetitive screen-printed photographic images, likened his works to a production line. Of Warhol's work, Paul Bergin wrote, "It is art stripped of personality and emotion and concerned only with the image, the obvious. It is the art of the machine, not about it" (1967:359). Unlike Warhol's mechanical and potentially unemotional productions, my project relied on forming relationships, friendships, and gaining trust in order to have the privilege of photographing Cook Islands women and portraying them and their adornment. Similar to Warhol, however, my project used tools to manipulate photographic technologies and to layer images to create new meanings.

The first section of this chapter discusses Cook Islands women's body adornment and accessories and the influences of the early missionaries. I discuss changes in formal and everyday adornment as women adapted to and embraced new ways of using cloth – though some of the traditional forms have remained.

1



2

"In this project, the word adornment refers to decorating the body with natural or manufactured materials, or covering the body or marking it by cutting or puncturing."

The first section also positions my art in the context of women's adornment reflecting their individual and collective identities.

The second section addresses the methods I used for the art works in my project, and why and how I arrived at decisions in their creation. A number of trials explored ways of portraying and responding to my observation of changes in women's adornment from the early 1800s to the present day. Over the period of the project, the methods used evolved from intuitively exploring layers of fabrics, paints, and screen prints of photographic portraits to a more analytic approach using digital technology, paralleling changes occurring in both society and technology on the island today.

The third section discusses my exhibition and my conclusions.

SECTION I
ADORNMENT

Adornment means "to decorate or increase the beauty of" someone or something (Collins 2004:11). In this project, the word adornment refers to decorating the body with natural or manufactured materials, or covering the body or marking it by cutting or puncturing. It also includes accessories, such as jewellery, head wear, hairstyles, and footwear, although not all of these are specifically addressed.

Anthropologist Robert Brain (1979) has noted that the body can be a canvas to be decorated. Decoration may be achieved in many ways – painting, tattooing, scarring, or clothing – and is often a means of expressing identity. The tattoo in Figure 2 is an example of how young Cook Islands women currently express not only their own Pacific identity but also represent their children or mark a special occasion through the creation of specific designs (see the following section on Body Adornment).

Anthropologist Marianne Hulsbosch (2006:2) has stated, "Manipulation of clothing and adornment is not only intended to decorate the body, but this action simultaneously informs society through shaping and defining personal and

FIGURE 1
My mother and father c. 1953 (photo: the author's collection).

FIGURE 2
Tattoo on young woman's foot and leg (photo: the author).

collective identities." A specific example of this occurs when the outer islanders or tere tere (travelling parties) come to Rarotonga: each group wears a uniform. Women collaborate in choosing fabrics and designing the uniform and the accessories before sewing begins. Upon arrival on Rarotonga, the wearing of their uniform manifests pride and identity in their home island (see Alexeyeff, this volume).

INFLUENCES OF CHRISTIANITY AND COLONIALISM

The introduction of new religions, colonial customs and traditions, the trading of new materials, internal migration, emigration, and immigration have all played major roles in the changing pattern of adornment in the Cook Islands.

According to Gill (1894:12), in pre-European times, Cook Islanders "were a clothed race" and "The varieties of native dresses, with their distinctive names, were very numerous."[1] Clothing at that time consisted of natural fibres extracted from the local environment, such as tapa (bark cloth), kiri'au (bark of the wild hibiscus tree), leaves (such as rau ti) and woven fabric made from the 'ara

[1] Gill does not provide these names but notes–"A native woman in her dwelling, wears a simple garment–a petticoat. In the cold season, she throws a 'tiputa' [barkcloth poncho] over her shoulders . . . An unmarried woman wore her petticoat near to the knee; when married it was brought down just below the knee" (1894:12).

FIGURE 3
Young women from the outer island of Pukapuka in their uniforms (photo: the author).

FIGURE 4
"Tepairu, a pure-caste Rarotongan girl" (photo: F. Homes in Wragg 1906).

FIGURE 5
Mama in white mu'umu'u and rito hat for church (photo: the author).

FIGURE 6
Pāreu wrap over tapa. 1906 (photo: Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, Image MA_I063016).

(pandanus). Other forms of adornment used in the early 1800s included breast plates made of pearl shell with braids of human hair, pendants of whale bone, arm bracelets made of cowrie shell, and head dresses made from the feathers of native birds (Idiens 1990:46-49).

The London Missionary Society (LMS) settled on Rarotonga in 1823 and under missionary influence, Cook Islands women were introduced to a new code of morality. There was insistence on fully covering the body, achieved in the case of women by the 'Mother Hubbard' or mu'umu'u (Figs. 4 and 5). According to the Cook Islands Library and Museum curator Jean Mason, the mu'umu'u may have been based on the design of a European nightdress (Mason 2008). Most Cook Islands women wore a pāreu (sarong) as an undergarment, not the kind of undergarments that missionary women typically wore (see section below on pāreu).

Over time, Cook Islands women have modified the missionary inspired mu'umu'u, making it shorter and more fitting to the body. Influenced by the neighbouring island of Tahiti, Cook Islands women have also made their mu'umu'u more decorative and colourful with the addition of lace, ribbon, and frills. Wardrobes now contain mu'umu'u for special occasions and for everyday use (Fig.5).

THE PĀREU

Despite the new code of dress introduced by missionaries, some women continued wearing bark cloth with a pāreu made of imported cloth wrapped around the outside, thus retaining some elements of tradition in dress. Rarotongans traditionally wrapped carved staff gods in patterned bark cloth. When the missionaries destroyed what they regarded as heathen gods, the need for bark cloth wrappings declined. Tapa was quickly replaced by imported cotton cloth.

Susanne Küchler and Graham Were (2003:5) have argued that the decline of bark cloth liberated Pacific women to use European ready-made cloth and contend that it was the patterning and textures of imported cloth that induced Pacific Islands women to adopt Western clothing.

The pāreu, as a decorative cloth, has been adapted over time. Pāreu now bear patterns ranging from Cook Islands / Pacific patterns printed in Asia, to Cook Islands block or screen prints, to locally hand-painted patterns on silk. However, the role of the pāreu has remained the same. Catherine Allerton (2007) discussed how the pāreu can be used to wrap, protect, and therefore act as a super skin. For Cook Islands women, the pāreu is exactly this, a second skin, which they can quickly pick up and wrap around themselves. In addition, the pāreu can be an indicator of status. The more hand-crafted the pāreu, the greater the cost, the higher the status acquired by its wearer.

The techniques of assembly and decoration associated with cloth introduced by missionaries have been embraced and developed by Cook Islands women. Sewing and cloth adornment remain a significant part of women's activities today. Traditional social relationships and communal links have been reflected and reinforced by the formation of collaborative sewing groups known as va'inetini (literally 'many women'). The production of tivaivai (quilts) often involves these large sewing circles (see Eimke, this volume).

CULTURAL CHANGES

Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens and young Cook Islands men and women leave their home islands in large numbers to find better employment opportunities in New Zealand and Australia. These young people are part of a wider global movement of people in search of a better life, money, and education. They move freely between New Zealand, Australia and back home, working and living with families and mixing in wider multi-cultural societies. As a consequence, Cook Islands women have adapted their accessories and modes of dress and taken on an eclectic mix of adornment influenced by many other cultures.

Construction of the international airport on Rarotonga in 1975 increased tourism in the islands. Tourists brought new fashions, materials, creations, and designs that changed Cook Islands women's views of everyday adornment. They began to create and wear their own creations, competing in creating designs, patterns, and methods expressive of their own island environment and national identity.

Figure 8 provides an instance of overseas fashion influences in the Cook Islands in the 1950s. Fine locally woven hats and bags have also been influenced by overseas fashions.The woman in Figure 9 is wearing a delicately woven hat made in Mangaia from local materials but adapted to reflect 1950s fashion in New Zealand.

CULTURAL IDENTITY
THE FLOWER (TIARE)

Tiare (flowers) have always played a major part in women's adornment in the Cook Islands. Many women rarely leave home without a flower placed behind their ear or within their hair. Crocombe (1983:126) reported that at a church gathering on Mangaia during the first years of the arrival of the missionaries, children attended church in what was termed by the missionaries "heathen clothing," including feather head-dresses, long tresses of human hair tied around their arms and ankles, and flower garlands around their necks.

Today the ritual of welcome, on arrival at Rarotonga International Airport, is to place a garland of flowers around the neck ('ei) or on the head ('ei katu) of a visitor or family member returning home. This ritual is not only a sign of welcome but an indication that you will be looked after while you are here. On the outer islands, a similar ritual happens both as you arrive and leave. Islanders handpick and stitch the flowers. They put much thought and pride into each 'ei. The more beautiful or rare the flowers and the more 'ei one is presented with, the higher the status of the recipient. As people fly in from the outer islands, their island of origin can be identified by the flowers they are wearing and their scents.

FIGURE 7
Mamas in their pāreu wraps. March 2009 (photo: the author).

FIGURE 8
Women ready for the local dance. c.1956 (photo: Collection of Christina Tatum Lewis).

FIGURE 9
Woven hat from the Island of Mangaia. c.1950s (photo: D. S. Marshall, D .S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 10
Arrival at Rarotonga airport, 2009 (photo: the author).

FIGURE 11
Mama in 'ei katu (photo: the author).

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THE NEXT GENERATION

Stevenson (2008:) writes that "A Pacific Islands' cultural aesthetic has developed over the past millennia, changing as new materials and methods became available." Today, young Cook Islands women have access to digital technology, further opening their society to influences from the global community. New brands and fashion labels, which today act as adornment and identity signifiers, are more accessible and appealing for young women in Rarotonga (Fig.12).

Adornment for Cook Islands women that was once made within the family or the community is now bought from small local businesses and is either locally made or imported. Part of the reason is that women are now working full-time and do not have the time to make their families' clothing. The choices of adornment may be wider, but local, culturally specific patterns and styles are diminishing. Young women with access to greater education, technology and money now prefer to dress as their counterparts in the rest of the world. They retain local identity, however, by mixing label clothing with a delicate fusion of local adornment. They tuck a flower behind their ear, wear beads or 'ei, or more recently, have their bodies tattooed with Cook Islands designs (Fig.13).

FIGURE 12
Young Cook Islands women in their label clothing (photo: the author).

FIGURE 13
Tattoo arm band (photo: the author).

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BODY ADORNMENT

Tatau (tattoo) existed throughout the Cook Islands in the pre-European period. Buck (1927:363) has suggested that the tattoo patterns may have originated from the motifs developed in wood carving. Similar patterns were hand painted onto bark cloth or fringed woven mats as well (see Tavioni, this volume).

Traditionally, women adorned themselves with tattoo. For example, on the island of Atiu, some women of rank were tattooed from the knee to the heel.[2] Families or tribes usually had a particular totem, such as a bird, fish, insect, or plant that was sacred to that group and symbolized its unity and identity. The ritual association required members of the clan to treat the totem with respect. Its supernatural help could also be sought in times of distress. In the village of Puaikura on Rarotonga, the Ariki Tinomana has the centipede, as one of her spiritual guardians, carved onto a board in front of her palace. On the island of Atiu, the shark is the spiritual guardian of Ariki Rongomatane.

The Pacific Arts Festival held in the Cook Islands in 1992 was a catalyst for the revival of the art of tatau. Prior to the festival, there were very few tattooed people in the Cook Islands. It became important for some Cook Islanders to be tattooed with Cook Islands patterns as a symbol of their identity. For young women, the arm band has become an acceptable, even fashionable, symbol of Polynesian heritage.

SECTION II
METHODS AND PROCESSES
BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS

An integral element of my project was the development of existing, as well as forming new, relationships with women in the community. As a member of the local community, but not a Cook Islander, social connections were essential in order to gain trust, so that my observations, dialogues, and collaborations could take place with ease. Carine Ayele Durnand has observed that, in learning art practice alongside the Pacific artist Rosana Raymond, "it became evident that the act of making is integrally connected to those of story telling and of building social relationship" (2008:79). In my case also, forming close ties with various women led to story-telling in which they recalled memories of their past. These close ties also permitted me access to their personal and public spaces, enabling me to make observations of their adornment and to gain knowledge of how and why they make their garments and accessories. In a number of my experiments, I used practical skills learned from these women to further explore varying methods of adornment.

VISUAL DIARY

As part of my project, I created a visual diary in which to write notes, make sketches, paint charts, and place photocopies of relevant works. The visual diary assisted in comparing various techniques used throughout the project. Processes were recorded along with colour charts, photocopies, postcards, and discarded fabrics.

OBSERVATIONS

My observations were glimpses or snapshots. I did not intrude but casually sat and watched. I observed women individually and collectively within the community. I observed how they conveyed their identity in their adornment, focusing on elements, such as the type of flowers in their 'ei katu to the style of print upon their pāreu. I observed the styles of adornment and the accompanying accessories, from woven handbags to shell necklaces. Sometimes I made myself known and participated in conversations while taking photographs and/or writing notes. I preferred to observe in uncalculated settings, so that preconceptions did not interfere. When new ideas occurred, I used them in my project.

[2] See William Anderson's description of Atiu islanders in 1777-"Their common dress was a piece of cloth or matt wrap'd about the waste which cover'd the Privitys, but some had pieces of matts most curiously varied with black & white made into a sort of jacket without sleeves & others wore conic caps made of cocoa nut coir neatly interwoven with small beads made of a shelly substance. Their ears were pierc'd in which they hung bits of the membranous part of some plant or stuck an odoriferous flower which seemd to be a species of Gardenia. Some who were of superior class, and also the chiefs, had two little balls with a common base made from the bone of some animal which was hung around the neck with a great many folds of small cord: and the last came as any of the other people when the Ceremony of Introduction was over, for they now appear'd without their red feathers which we took for a regal distinction as none had any but these & the women who danc'd. Some were punctuated all over the sides and back in an uncommon manner and the women had it on the legs, but this method was confin'd to those who seem'd to be of a superior rank & the men in that case were also commonly distinguish'd by their size & corpulence unless very young. The women who were of an advanc'd age or had done bearing children had their hair cropp'd short, & many were cut all over the body with oblique lines which form'd rhomboidal figures, some of which had been so lately done that the coagulated blood still remained in the wounds" (Anderson's Journal in Beaglehole 1967:840).

The photographic snapshot and its original portrait remained but the layering created a new image, implying a relationship between the past and the present.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SNAPSHOTS

Wherever I went within the community, I used my camera to collect and record my observations of the everyday. I did not plan my photographs, generally speaking, so they captured snapshots, spontaneous moments. The camera was a useful tool that allowed me to revisit the image and the moment and to further observe. Collecting and keeping photographs over my years on Rarotonga proved useful in charting the evolution of women's adornment from the conservatively structured mu'umu'u and handcrafted adornments to the fusion of global brands with specific Cook Islands accessories.

The French philosopher Roland Barthes (1981) has suggested that the analogue black and white photographic image is a moment in time that dies with the click of the camera shutter. The snapshot communicates past stories or reflections of where, who and why. Questions arise as to the identity, relationships, and personality of those captured in the image. I used my snapshots to help provide a narrative of change in society here on Rarotonga, and create awareness or memory of what once was. Using photographic snapshots, and portraits of women and their adornment, I investigated layering screen printed images over transparencies and then photocopying. The photographic snapshot and its original portrait remained but the layering created a new image, implying a relationship between the past and the present.

SCREEN PRINTS

I used screen prints to produce works based on photographic portraits of the women and their adornment. The silk screen process enabled the portraits to be manually manipulated – for example, using lighter inks with less pressure on the squeegee in order to produce differing results. Over time, I experimented with a variety of surfaces to capture how the silk screen images could best be portrayed. I repetitively printed each image. However, because of the manual manipulation of ink, each portrait had an individual representation of its own. As a visual form of documentation the screen printed images were successful. Not only did they resemble photographic snapshots but they could be applied to various surfaces. The individuation of each image allowed the viewer to understand that the screen printing process was a manual one, therefore a one-off assurance that each image was original, and not the product of mechanical mass production.

COLLAGE

Mixed media have always played an important role in my art practice, and collage provided another form in which to explore the idea of Cook Islands women's adornment. Incorporating historic snapshots offered a means of examining changes in adornment over time. To reference the Cook Islands, I created collages using fabrics from local shops, local newspaper clippings, and my own quick sketches and screen prints to explore visual representations of the vibrancy of the women and their adornment. This process worked effectively but often the experiments became too busy and threatened to shift the project away from its main focus of women, adornment, and identity. The experiments with collage did, however, reinforce the idea of using layering as a method, and that this could be retained and used with other media, both manually and digitally. Layering as a technique in this project seems an effective way to explore and represent notions of time and change through history.

FROM PAST TO PRESENT
A CHRONOLOGY OF WORK

A work I created in November 2008 was an early experimentation employing the method of overlaying images by combining transparencies from my collected photographic snapshots, using digital media and a photocopier. I laid the transparency of a young woman on top of my own printed fabric to explore the idea of the change in women's adornment over time. The young woman's pāreu was 50 years old, but the overlay was contemporary printed fabric. The result of this layering gave the woman the appearance of being tattooed. This image was printed as a glossy photograph but because of the brown colour of the fabric, the final work had a sepia tone, giving it a sense of past times. While this method had potential, it was not followed up until later – because of the limited technology available on the island.

Additionally, I investigated some of the common elements, such as flowers and fabrics that women used to identify themselves. I covered mannequins with brightly coloured fabrics that local women used on a daily basis and that reflected our local environment. The vibrant fabrics appeared to instantly connect the mannequin parts, much as women's uniforms would.

In further exploring women's attire and the use of the mannequin parts, I made an 'ei katu for the mannequin head out of fabric, with dangling pieces of cloth representing the greenery used in 'ei katu. Once placed on the mannequin head, it became evident that this form of adornment could act as a mask in physical terms and possibly a security mask (Fig.15). In this way, personal identity was hidden behind group membership.

Working with mannequin torsos helped me to connect with patterns that might inherently connect various groups. It also allowed flexibility to explore patterns, making them interchangeable with the different groups of women and their adornment. From this point, I decided to investigate other forms of media used by local women in creating their adornment.

FIGURE 14
An 'ei katu (photo: the author).

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I experimented with the skills and techniques of embroidery frequently used in creating tivaivai. The idea was to link embroidery, fabric, and colour onto repeated screen printed images of a woman on canvas. The embroidery effect provided additional texture to the piece and I felt that, on a large scale, this experiment would work successfully. However, having not been involved in the embroidery myself, I decided on a more hands-on approach.

Departing from embroidery, I explored the process of layering further by incorporating more texture, colour, and form, seeking links between women, fabric, and identity.

In the next experiment, I ripped pieces of printed fabrics and layered them onto canvas with painting and a double silk screen printed image on top. The use of black and white colour to cut a horizontal path through the middle referred to black and white photographs, representatives of the past, combined with contemporary coloured printed fabrics. This experiment was a starting point for ideas towards my final exhibition. The strong black and white portrait, which appeared as though taken in the past, was aligned with the coloured graphic image and the torn fabric. "Tearing up" the fabric references young women whose world view is often temporary and disposable, reflecting their constantly changing ideas of adornment.

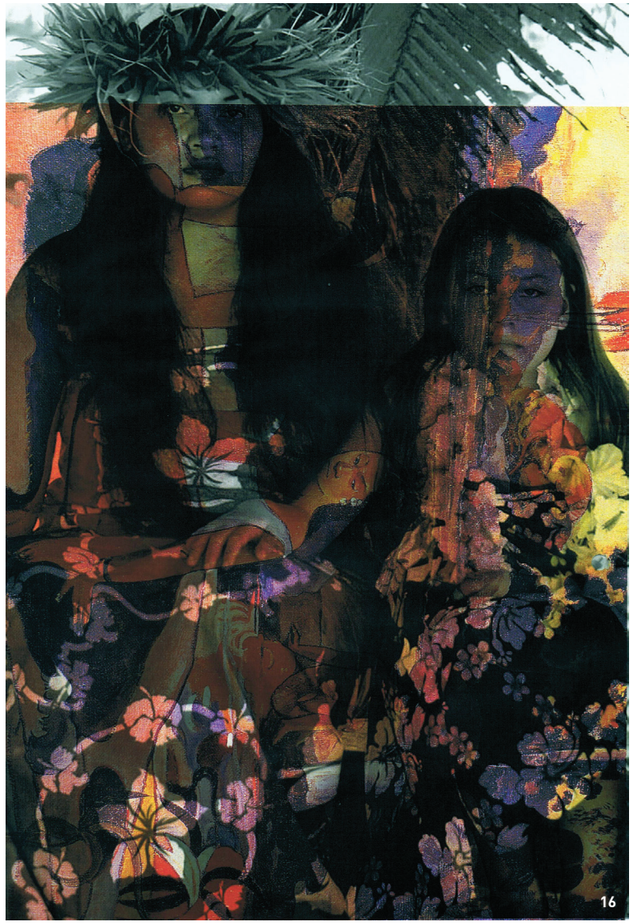
Observing women's groups sharing knowledge and skills while creating something for a common purpose, led me to the idea of producing a large piece of adornment resembling a circle or collective of women (the va'inetini).

Once again I worked with women in the village to roll and stitch pieces of printed fabric together representing tiare (flowers). We bound the fabric pieces onto a white cloth, forming a circle. Dangling red threads represented not only the energy of the women but the blood lines of their genealogies and thus their identity. I was satisfied with this experiment as, metaphorically, it also worked as a piece of adornment representing the 'ei of women. Each bundle had different colours relating to the women's colours of adornment, and the soft white cloth provided a religious element.

Reflecting on the mu'umu'u or Mother Hubbard dresses, I decided to explore the idea of re-making a dress that would be inclusive of both missionary women and Cook Islands women today. I styled the dress on that of the missionary women, using fabric screen printed with photographic images of young and old Cook Islands women. Producing the screen printed dress with the images of women was another turning point for my project. I decided that I wanted to experiment further with photographs or snapshot as my principal medium.

Working manually with screen printed images at times presented problems, including long delays on materials arriving by boat. As an alternative, I investigated digital printing, which had recently become available on the island. Digital technology created new possibilities for experimentation. It enabled me to continue using layers of imagery to explore representation of women's adornment and patterns of women's identity. Using close-up photos I was also able to capture the detail of the patterns in the images. Through researching the works of Andy Warhol and Karim Rashid, who worked in repetition and digital imaging respectively, I realized that focus on colour combinations, repetition, and the overlaying of colours and images in digital printing would help me capture multiple layers of women's adornment.

Using a photocopier I was also able to lay images over each other and then scan and analyse the images before deciding which I would use further.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A transparency of one of my photographic images was laid over a Gauguin print (Fig.16) because I was interested in his visual response to the Pacific. The prints indicated how colour formations could be used within layers of images. I scanned the resulting image so I could evaluate the detail of colours, image, and design.

The success of the resulting printed image opened new possibilities for my project. This image revealed the formations of the combinations that I wanted to achieve, which were colour, patterns, and designs of women and their adornment within a clear image. The overlay of images also suggested tattoo markings on the bodies of the mother and young girl, reflecting how women currently adorned their bodies. After experimentation and evaluation, I decided to layer only two images per print as the images conveyed a sense of the generations, as well as the colour and design of their adornment.

Taking advantage of the new printing processes available on the island, I began to investigate different printing surfaces in order to convey the bright colours of Cook Islands' women's adornment. Digitally printing onto canvas gave a matt surface so I decided to try a surface that produced a gloss finish. My next experiment was to print on vinyl. Vinyl proved to be the surface I needed to enhance the bright colours. The printing machine printed up to two metres portrait size, which was appropriate for the portraits of photographic images

"This image revealed the formations of the combinations that I wanted to achieve, which were colour, patterns, and designs of women and their adornment within a clear image. The overlay of images also suggested tattoo markings on the bodies of the mother and young girl, reflecting how women currently adorned their bodies."

FIGURE 15
They came to change. 2009. Silk Screen print, printing inks and fabric. (photo: the author).

FIGURE 16
Island Stars. 2009. Photographic digital print. (photo: the author).

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that I wanted to display in my final exhibition. In testing one of my photographic images, I found that the large size gave the image power along with identity. The vinyl with its glossy attributes could now bring images into the 21st century.

SECTION III
EXHIBITION AND CONCLUSIONS

My exhibition was presented in a chronological series. The series began with a digital printed image depicting the pre-European era evolving to a younger generation of Cook Islands women and their adornment. All images were digitally printed onto vinyl. At this stage, the images were on a large scale so that they gave the women within the images an appearance of strength in their Cook Islands identity. The large scale vinyl could be compared to billboard signage and the disposable culture of youth today. Each vinyl contained two images relating to the adornment of both older and younger generations of Cook Islands women. I aimed for viewers to be engaged in every visual element within the image and to identify the layers of Cook Islands women's adornment from the past to the present day. Included in the images were layers of colour, design, and symbols representing the women's adornment.

This research project in my art practice was challenging and rewarding. Through my observations, I became more aware of Cook Islands women and their adornment and its role in creating a sense of identity not only for the individual woman but also for the collective group. I researched the pre-European traditional culture of women's adornment. Despite the profound impact of Christian missionaries, Cook Islands women retained elements of their traditional adornment. Their adornment articulated openness to change, adding influences from neighbouring countries, such as Tahiti and New Zealand, while continuing to use patterns, designs, and colours reflective of their own environment.

The opening of an international airport and the advent of tourism brought further outside influences. The introduction of television and new digital technologies saw women no longer isolated from the trends and fashions of the more developed world. A younger generation of women became influenced by international clothing labels, but were keen to link the overseas clothing with jewellery, flowers, or tattoos that identified them as Cook Islanders.

My art practice replicated the time-consuming nature of Cook Islands women's craftwork. As I focused on the production of an 'ei katu, I discovered that the 'ei katu (and by extension the tere tere uniform) can provide a group mask as well as providing an individual identity.

My practice progressed through a series of trials by screen printing photographic images of women and their adornment onto canvas and textiles, and examining the layers of adornment. Like the hands-on approach of Cook Islands women in making adornment, I found that manually photographing, photocopying, overlaying and scanning my images before printing them, allowed me greater control and offered more possibilities of using fabrics, colours and patterns to illustrate the layers of women's adornment. The shift to a more elaborate and defined print produced a visual, energetic formula that relates to the vibrancy consistent with the colours of the Cook Islands women's adornment. As a result of this series of experiments, my art making evolved from an intuitive hands-on approach that I have used over many years, to a more detailed analytical approach.

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FIGURE 17
Image 1. 2010. Digital photograph printed on vinyl. 2 x 1.37 metres (photo: the author).

FIGURE 18
Image 2. 2010. Digital photograph printed on vinyl. 2 x 1.37 metres (photo: the author).

FIGURE 19
Image 3. 2010. Digital photograph printed on vinyl. 2 x 1.37 metres (photo: the author).

FIGURE 20
Image 4. 2010. Digital photograph printed on vinyl. 2 x 1.37 metres (photo: the author).

FIGURE 21
Image 5. 2010. Digital photograph printed on vinyl. 2 x 1.37 metres (photo: the author).

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Kay George is a self taught artist who has been painting and exhibiting her work throughout the Pacific over the last 25 years. She started painting and selling textiles as fabric pieces, wall hangings and clothing in Sydney, Australia. In 1988 she moved to Rarotonga, Cook Islands with her husband and fellow artist Ian George. Kay George's works are seen in many private and public collections in New Zealand, Australia and the Cook Islands. Since completing her Masters in Art and Design from AUT University in 2010, her work has become focused on layered imagery transposed through the photographic medium. Her exhibitions include Maketi Ples, Sydney (2012); Nui Pasifik, Gorman Museum, University of California (2010); Tiaho–To Shine, New Photo Media & Film from the Pasifik, University of Mexico City (2010); MANUIA, The American Indian Community House/BCA, New York, (2010); and Snapshots of Rarotonga, Lesa Gallery, Wellington, NZ (2009).

GLOSSARY

'ara	pandanus
'ei	flower garland worn around the neck
'ei katu	flower crown
kiri'au	bark of the wild hibiscus tree
mu'umu'u	Mother Hubbard dress introduced by missionaries; long dress
pāreu	sarong
rau ti	leaf
tapa	bark cloth
tatau	tattoo
tere tere	travelling party
tiare	flower
tivaivai	quilt
va'ine tini	sewing group, women's collective

Chapter Eight

MASKS OF MANGAIA

Jacqui Durrant

In his book *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia,* the Reverend William Wyatt Gill of the London Missionary Society (LMS) claimed that on the island of Mangaia, "dance itself was invariably connected with very serious evils, so that upon the establishment of Christianity it was entirely abolished" (W.W. Gill 1894:252-253). In hindsight, we might disagree, or even scoff at, Gill's assertion, for even as his statements appeared in print, far from Christianity having abolished dance on the island, Mangaians were devoting considerable energies to enhancing their dance performances, with the creation of some highly novel masks and costumes.

In hindsight, we might also consider that the cultural history of Mangaian pare 'eva (bark cloth masks) and that of the lesser-known katu tūpāpaku (carved wooden masks) is unlikely. Polynesia has no strong mask-making traditions, and these masks perhaps represented an unprecedented — but short-lived and idiosyncratic — departure from the cultural mainstream. Although they contain familiar elements in their artistry and design, no one can say that they resemble anything else from Polynesia. In fact, they look vaguely Melanesian.

Of course, none of this concerned the Mangaians who actually made the masks. They were interested in performance: the dance, music, and drama at celebrations and rituals long integral to Mangaian culture. To the Mangaians of the day, pare 'eva and katu tūpāpaku were objects of creativity and liveliness, experienced in the immediacy of present moments.

THE MASK DESIGNS

Pare 'eva are conical masks decorated freehand with painted designs. They are a part of the 'eva costumes, which included tiputa (ponchos sometimes stitched down the sides to form a short-sleeved shirt) and either a pāreu (wrap-around skirt) or short pants. These items were made of tapa (bark cloth). Principally made from 'aute (*Broussonetia papyrifera,* paper mulberry), tapa has also been made from the roots of the ava (*Ficus prolixa,* banyan), as well as kuru (*Artocarpus altilis,* breadfruit) and numerous other trees — especially in the makatea (uplifted coral) islands, including Mangaia. Although all pare 'eva share a common style, each group of masks has a distinctive look, the work of a particular artist or group of artists.

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FIGURE 1
"Mangaian Warriors" from the *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 15 June 1895.

FIGURE 2
Daniela Tangitoru in full costume. Tangitoru led a group of seven Mangaians who performed at the Christchurch Exhibition of 1906 (photo: Leslie Hinge, B.002818, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington).

FIGURE 3
A pare 'eva collected on Rarotonga (at 'Arorangi) in 1899 for the Auckland Museum. Lettering on the mask seems to identify the wearer as representing the Mangaian district of Tamarua (photo: AM8353, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland).

To make pare ‘eva, tapa, often finely ribbed, was pulled over and stitched onto a woven cane frame. Generally between 65 and 100 centimetres (cm) high, the masks were made either all of a piece, or in two parts: the cone and a lower section to cover the face. The conical form had variations, the most common being a four-sided pyramidal shape. The top canes of the underlying framework were pulled together to form a long tapering finial, which was sometimes divided into two. These finials were wrapped in tapa and decorated with sprays of black and/or white feathers, tufts of tapa streamers, or ‘au (native hibiscus) bast. The bottom edges of the cones were frequently finished by cutting over-hanging tapa into a fringe, echoing the sleeves, cuffs, and edges of the clothing.

Aside from their general form, the most distinguishing and immediately identifiable elements of pare ‘eva were their facial features. Elliptical slits were cut through the tapa to form eyes and mouth, which were further delineated with finely painted strokes radiating from their edges, probably representing eyelashes, moustaches, and beards. Alternatively, moustaches were painted as a thick line, almost always curling up at the ends, perhaps mimicking the fashionable Western waxed moustaches of the day. Some were also trimmed with plant fibre, fringed paper or tapa streamers, to give the appearance of beards and hair, or to cover the neck.

Around these facial features and continuing up the cone was an elaborate range of non-figurative patterns, usually painted in black. The patterns were drawn from traditional Mangaian decorative motifs; the most common from Mangaian tattoo designs (Buck 1944:130-131).[1] These included the manuta‘i, maurua, and variations on the ruru or kau, puwakewake, and tuata‘iti designs (see Mangos & Utanga 2011). Circular patterns, similar to those seen on some canoe paddles “evidently made for entertainments,” were also widely used (Buck 1944:405). At least one mask (illustrated by Baessler 1899) also used a diamond pattern, as seen on older examples of Mangaian tapa. Intriguingly, some masks featured delicate “botanical” patterns, which Scothorn suggested may reflect chintz fabrics of the Victorian era.[2]

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[1] The observation records were contemporary with the masks.

[2] Hilary Scothorn, Jul 2009, pers. comm.

FIGURE 4
A tiputa, 1906 (photo: FE002324, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington).

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Designs were painted mainly in black, probably using commercial paint. Other colours used included red “from the pot of the missionary” and an ad hoc paint manufactured from a common laundry bleach sometimes known as Reckitt’s Blue or waschblau (washing blue) (Baessler 1899:33). Adding to this palette, some masks included tapa that was dyed yellow.

Radically different in appearance and construction to pare ‘eva, the carved wooden katu tūpāpaku masks are known almost only from photographs. They have figurative human faces, often with exaggerated eyes in which the whites are pronounced and contrast markedly with the pupils, and slender noses, prominent ears, and hair and beards made of such fibres as horsehair and hessian string. One surviving mask (D21.46), acquired by the Otago Museum in 1920 or 1921, is double-sided and retains a full head of ‘hair’ despite having lost its beard.

FIGURE 5
A pare ‘eva trimmed with hibiscus bast, c.1900 (photo: FE000626, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington).

FIGURE 6
A pare ‘eva collected on Rarotonga (at ‘Arorangi) in 1899 for the Auckland Museum is decorated with motifs derived from tattoo designs as well as motifs reminiscent of chintz fabric (photo: 8381, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland).

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

Although the word pare refers simply to head coverings, such as hats or headdresses, ‘eva has been translated broadly as “the ceremonies of mourning or other ceremonies” (Savage 1980:65). Buck used it in relation to funerary celebrations — dirges accompanied by dances, recitals, and songs with soloists and choruses known as “death talks,” and dramatic performances, which followed dart-throwing competitions (Buck 1934:192-197). The word ‘eva is recognizable in the Tahitian word heva or heiva, the chief mourner in a Tahitian funeral ceremony. The mask worn by the heiva was a parae heiva. Another contemporary English translation of heiva (written as “heaver”) was simply “dancing” (Frost 1995:68). The thread running through these translations is that dancing and ceremony belonged together. It may have been through the secularization of such ceremonies that pare ‘eva came by their alternative name, pare tāreka (as suggested by Baessler 1899:33). The word tāreka, derives from the word reka meaning, enjoyable and entertaining and applied to entertainments.

The only known name for the solid wooden masks used in performances alongside pare ‘eva or independently, is katu tūpāpaku.[3] While katu translates simply as skull, scalp, or head, the meaning of tūpāpaku is manifold. It can mean a dead person or corpse, although in the oral tradition of the Southern Cook Islands, tūpāpaku are “spirit beings or forces similar though not identical to the ghosts of Europe . . . the aronga te pō, ‘the company of the world of night or darkness’” (Clerk 1990:317). Shibata’s Mangaian dictionary defines it as “ghost, spirit of a dead person, also a human silhouette,” (1999:349); Buse’s Rarotongan dictionary defines it more particularly as a “mischievous ghost” (1995:526). Clerk, who collected stories concerning tūpāpaku in the mid-1970s, found that some minor atua (gods), such as the Rarotongan atua Ta‘akura, had been redefined as a tūpāpaku, which he suggested was done to limit their incompatibility with Christianity (1990:318).

MANGAIAN MASKS IN MUSEUMS

Perhaps fewer than 20 pare ‘eva and katu tūpāpaku and only a handful of matching ‘eva costumes exist in museum collections across the world today. With few exceptions, all seem to come from between the mid-to late 1890s and the late 1920s. Given their absence from earlier collections of Mangaian material culture (notably that of the British Museum), it is likely that the masks were only produced during that brief period.

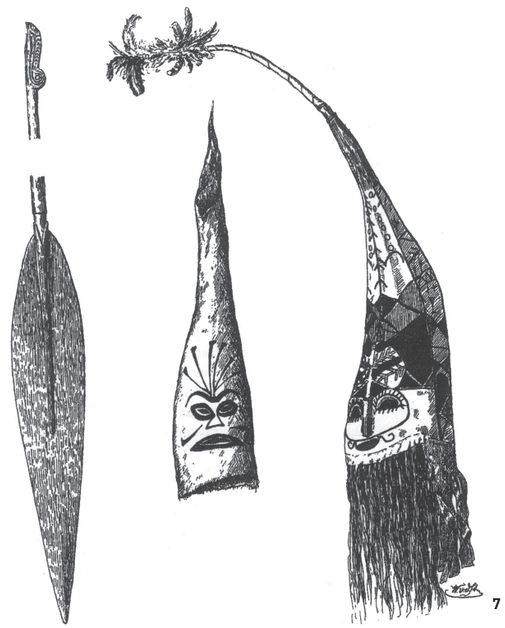
Unlike earlier collections of Mangaian material culture, masks were collected predominantly by ethnographers and museum curators. The earliest known pare ‘eva dates from 1897, when one (M.695) entered the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. The last pare ‘eva (AM1009) to be acquired came into the collection of Auckland War Memorial Museum and was sourced on Mangaia in 1929. Despite being known as Mangaian masks, two masks in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin are attributed to Vaipai on Aitutaki; and at least four pare ‘eva, including two collected for Auckland Museum in 1899, were acquired on Rarotonga. Although these may have come from a Mangaian community on Rarotonga (at ‘Arorangi, from where the mask was collected), or from a visiting performance troupe, their locations of acquisition raise the question as to whether pare ‘eva were exclusively Mangaian phenomena.

There is little to indicate that the complexity of design was developmental. The pare ‘eva in Hobart is simple: it is covered in finely ribbed off-white tapa sewn together along the back midline, which has been twisted around a long, tapering finial that arches forward. The tapa is fringed along the bottom. Additional decoration is limited to roughly outlined facial features and coarse zigzag patterns around the cone in alternating black and (now faded) brown or red lines. However, Baessler collected another mask around the same time, and he described it as “fantastically coloured,” being elaborately painted in black, red, and blue. The cone had a rich variety of motifs including diamonds painted in solid colours. This mask had a long tapering finial that arched forward and was embellished with opposing sprays of cocks’ feathers. The bottom front of the mask was trimmed with a long beard of horsehair, while a fringe of yellow tapa at the back covered the neck (Baessler 1899:33).

In the main, Mangaian masks were acquired with the specific aim of augmenting museum collections. Unfortunately, virtually no information regarding their cultural context was collected at the time. The best information relating to the masks comes from independent contemporary photographers who recorded several performance troupes in costume. These photographs followed the masks and costumes into museum collections, but also with little accurate documentation.[4]

IN PERFORMANCE

In a static museum display, pare ‘eva and katu tūpāpaku suffer much reduced vibrancy. We can try to restore some life by imagining them in performance. Like so many Polynesian peoples in pre-Christian times, the different tribal groups of



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[3] This name comes from Otago Museum catalogue records. Although its authenticity is open to question, it is used here in the absence of other options.

[4] These photographs are, insofar as I know, held in the collections of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawai‘i and in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland War Memorial Museum, and Te Papa Tongarewa Museum in New Zealand.

FIGURE 7
An early mask collected by Arthur Baessler (1899:32).

Mangaia lived with a cycle of celebrations and memorials that helped mark and shape time. These could be dedicated to the particular atua of the tribe, and/or to Mangaia's tutelary god, Rongo. In performances, they celebrated the distant atua who had created life, as well as those who had created Mangaia: Rangi, Te Akatauira, and Mokoiro, from whom they would trace their own genealogies and the division of Mangaia into its six puna (districts). They celebrated the achievements of their ancestral heroes, often considered atua, who were closer to the human realm. They also celebrated decisive historical battles. At some point, they came to refer to these celebrations as their peu tupuna (ancestral customs).

Stories were told through dance and music, in such dramatic forms as ʻeva, poetic chants (peʻe), and songs, including mire (women's action songs), and ʻūtē (songs composed to commemorate an event, often one with a narrative or love interest). Plenty of action happened in stories recounting battles in which the victors gained control of productive taro lands: often bloodbaths that sometimes saw entire tribes erased, and not a few corpses stomped into the fetid mud of taro patches. Fugitives hid in the caves on the limestone makatea, fighting starvation, desperately seeking a means of regaining a foothold in society, and planning vengeance. There were also stories of love, jealousy, and betrayal. A legend that long remained a favourite and was still being performed in the 1970s was the story of the priest Tangiʻia, who demanded children to eat but was eventually outwitted with a bowl of poisoned kava (drink made from *Piper methysticum*) (McMath & Parima 1990).

Celebratory events took up to a year to prepare, especially as time was needed "for the making of the songs and the rehearsal of the performers [as well as] for the growth of taro . . . requisite for the grand feasting" (W.W. Gill 1894:253). The celebrations ran through the night, with as many as 20 songs performed and encored.

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Such voyagers as James Cook, as well as LMS missionaries who first arrived in the Cook Islands in 1821, triggered cultural changes — some momentous, others piecemeal — to the form and cultural significance of the peu tupuna, which some people came to refer to as the peu ʻētene (heathen customs). The performances changed: first, people added the story of Cook's visit and later, they incorporated Christian elements and motifs into their traditional stories. However, the use of pare ʻeva and katu tūpāpaku in performance, which was a material cultural transformation, only came after decades of cultural contact with the non-Polynesian world.

It is impossible to fully recapture the performances of peu tupuna in the late 19th century, but we can try to imagine them in the present tense, for example on May Day — a day set aside by the missionaries in the 1830s to replace the traditional festivities that came with the rising of Matariki (Pleiades). These peu tupuna celebrations involve different performance troupes and onlookers travelling from their respective puna across the island to watch and participate in the performances. There is a competitive spirit. As always, the performances have been coordinated by tumu kōrero — groups of people who have decided on what stories will be told and who have been busy composing new songs and dances. They have organized all the elements essential to lively and successful theatre: dancing, acting, singing, music, costuming, marionettes, and special effects.

Pulling on their pare ʻeva and katu tūpāpaku, with ʻeva costumes covering their bodies in traditional tattoo motifs, the performers of the day are transformed into heroes, atua, and mythical beings. In mock battles, they are warriors, using

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With their faces hidden, the performers are liberated to take verbal licence.

kōrare (spears) to stab fiercely at their invisible opponents. Uncanny tūpāpaku move about, some simultaneously looking front and back, possessed of the double vision to see both the worlds of the living and Te Pō ('the night', the spirit world). With their faces hidden, the performers are liberated to take verbal licence. Other people beat drums with precise rhythms, mirroring the mood and action of the drama as it is playing out. The actors and dancers find opportunities for improvisation and humour. They occasionally make mistakes, and audiences are enjoying the creative re-telling of familiar stories.

In the 1970s, Raphael Timi'iti spoke of one such performance that he had watched perhaps 50 years beforehand, when he says Rongo was still often spoken of on Mangaia:

Coming from Veitatei village were Tāne-Kio (god of the sea) and Tāne-Ngakiau (god of the land) . . . . Identical masks covered their faces. Tāne-Kio and Tāne-Ngakiau walked to the open field where all the spectators were assembled. Arriving simultaneously from Tavaʻenga village was Rongo who was fifteen feet tall, clearly illustrating his mightiness. Rongo's spectacular appearance and procession frightened the children who were watching. Two men were inside Rongo's form, making it so mighty. The arms of the man on top were wrapped in kaka [the fibrous stipule at the base of the coconut frond] giving the impression of valour. Rongo's hair was made out of horsehair, and ti leaves covered his whole body. The legend that was performed illustrated the power of Rongo throughout the world. The two lesser gods, who were from Tahiti, had nowhere to hide from Rongo and were pleading with him to allow them to stay on the island. They tried to appease Rongo by dancing before him (in Apeldorn-Perry & Kareroa 1970s).

Stephen Savage wrote of a similar performance given by Mangaians on Rarotonga in 1907:

The Mangaians, who are by no means noted for piety, are the possessors of an unusually large selection of gods of remarkable qualities and appearance, and proceeded to call up some of them for our benefit. The great original god of Mangaia, Vari-tumu-enua, was the first to make an appearance in answer to an incantation. [Vari's] appearance . . . was indeed a fearful and wonderful one, as he slowly came into sight, an enormous figure 10ft high, with huge eyes that flashed up and down in time to the music, and arms waving a sort of general benediction to all his people. . . . By the aid of a similar combination of unholy sounds another famous Mangaian god, Tumuteangaoa, the echo god, was invoked and beguiled into showing off his powers in that connection. This was not quite such an awe-inspiring appearance as the former one, Tumu being a jovial and friendly deity, who went through a number of antics by way of introducing himself, and even insisted on shaking hands with some of the onlookers. . . . But perhaps the most extraordinary of all the gods was Avatea (the great dawn), who was half man half fish — not as a merman, but lengthwise. He appeared high up in the air (suspended by rather too evident means and, during the rendering of the "himene" in his honour, performed sundry fanciful acrobatic feats as evidence of his approval (Savage in Otago Witness *1907:77).*

A photograph (Bishop Museum SP_204436), taken of a travelling performance troupe at Taputapuatea in 1907, roughly mirrors both Timi'iti's and Savage's accounts. Among the performance troupe, there is one distinctively masked

FIGURE 8
Pare ʻeva (festival mask), 1906, cane, tapa, feather, fibre. This is the mask worn by Daniela Tangitoru in Figure 2 above (photo: FE002323/2, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand).

FIGURE 9
A performance troupe on Rarotonga, at a Cook Islands Annexation Celebration, August 1907. Women also participated in the performances (photo: Stephen Savage, SP_216961, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu).

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figure wearing pāreu kiri'au (hula skirts) on his upper and lower body. At the rear of the troupe stands a colossal figure dressed in tapa with 'tattooed' arms, its head topped by three marionettes with limbs that could be jostled by rods. This large figure, which commands our attention even after 100 years, could easily be Rongo accompanied by his three sons, although one unknown owner of a copy of this photograph (Turnbull Library PA1-f-126-06-1) recorded the figure as Vari, coupled with the smaller atua 'Tāne-Kiao.'[5]

Not all of the stories were traditional: in another photograph (Te Papa B.027735) a man with long hair effected by a wig stands at the centre of the group — now entirely masked — holding a flag used to represent the Kingdom of Rarotonga prior to its becoming a British protectorate in 1888. He would appear to be the leader of kōrare-brandishing warriors in a far more contemporary story.

In tārekareka, Mangaians not only amused themselves; they also continued to entertain notions of what it was to be 'Mangaian' — or rather, Mangaians of distinct tribal genealogies. The masks, stylistically unique to each performance troupe, allowed these groupings to be made visible.

[5] Perhaps a misspelling of Tane-kio ("Tane the chirper") or Tane-ngakiau ("Tane striving for power"), variants of the major god Tane. As Buck noted, "The original god Tane has had many attributes attached to his name which in the course of time have come to be regarded as distinct gods" (1934:163).

FIGURE 10
A Mangaian performance troupe on Taputapuatea, c.1907. The large figure probably represents either Vari, the creator, or Rongo, with the lesser figure being Tāne-Kio or Tane-ngakiau (photo: PA1-f-126-06-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

FIGURE 11
A Mangaian performance troupe on Taputapuatea, c.1907 as illustrated previously. The performer at the centre of the group holds a flag used to represent the Kingdom of Rarotonga prior to its becoming a British protectorate in 1888 (photo: B.027735, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington).

A MELANESIAN INFLUENCE?

Mask-making in Polynesia was virtually unknown at the time of European contact, and the most notable exception to the rule — the Tahitian parae heiva masks used in mourning ceremonies — bear no artistic resemblance to either pare 'eva or katu tūpāpaku. It is possible that Mangaian masks could have emerged as an entirely local phenomenon. They do have some local antecedents: in *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, William Wyatt Gill recalls the 1820 performance of "A Day Song for Maaki's Fete" by Tangataroa, in which six men in masks represented "warning birds," "incarnations of Tane" which came from "the sunrising" (1876:49-50); and in his recollections of 1839, Maretu records that in May Day celebrations "children were adorned with heathen decorations, such as long tresses of human hair and conical feathered headdresses" (M. Crocombe 1983:126). Again W. Wyatt Gill recounting the 1852 May celebrations on Mangaia wrote of some performers wearing "curious masks, others chapelets of flowers. . . ." (1853:30). Nevertheless, the visual appearance of the pare 'eva masks does suggest Melanesian inspiration.

The possible Melanesian origins of Mangaian masks is supported by Arthur Baessler, who collected four pare tāreka, almost certainly on his third voyage to the Pacific between 1895 and 1898. Baessler asserted that masks had been recently imported into Mangaia by Cook Islander missionaries who had returned from working in Papua on the island of New Guinea. Baessler wrote the senior LMS missionaries could not tolerate the Papuan climate and preferred to send Polynesians in their place. These included Cook Islanders whom they had trained at the LMS school in Oneroa (Mangaia) and at their theological college in Avarua (Rarotonga). Baessler wrote that, as soon as these Cook Islanders were away from the "watchful eyes" of their European superiors, they took inordinate pleasure in the indigenous "customs and amusements" of the Papuans. When the Reverend James Chalmers (the senior missionary in the Papuan Gulf) was informed of the situation, he sent the offending teachers home — whereupon they "immediately began imitating what they had seen" (Baessler 1899:33). Baessler's account certainly has the feel of a superior ethnographer revelling in the notion that the Islander missionaries trusted by the LMS to teach the gospel had so easily 'lapsed' once left unsupervised. Despite this potential bias, Baessler's statements regarding this cultural transference are straightforward enough to be worthy of consideration.

Cook Islander missionaries were fundamental to the establishment and running of mission stations in Papua New Guinea throughout the 1870s and 1880s (Chalmers 1884:3, Chalmers in Lovett 1902:321; M. Crocombe 1982:55-78; Garrett 1982:207-208). In particular, Chalmers — ably assisted by the renowned Mangaian missionary Ruatoka — was responsible for expanding missions around the Papuan Gulf. Not only did Ruatoka guide the missionaries' first contacts with the Papuans, but his long career in Papua saw him supervising mission stations, particularly in the absence of European missionaries, as well as selecting and placing new teachers in stations along the Gulf (Lovett 1902:302; M. Crocombe 1982:55-78; Garrett 1982:208-210).

However, the efforts of Chalmers and Ruatoka were frustrated by a lack of personnel. In 1888, Chalmers lamented, "I have long been anxious to get right West of Orokolo [in the central Gulf], and did hope to do so by now; but other places require teachers, and except Rarotonga all South Seas missions have failed us in supply" (in Lovett 1902:321). With human resources stretched thinly, Cook

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FIGURE 12
Pare 'eva worn by a troupe of seven Mangaians, led by Daniela Tangitoru, who performed at the Christchurch Exhibition of 1906-1907. The masks were comparatively homogenous, presenting a strong uniform identity (photo: FE002323/1, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington).

FIGURE 13
"Mangaians Dancing at Rarotonga." This image appeared in the *Otago Witness*, 18 July, 1906 p.45 (photo: Stephen Savage, Bridgeman Images)

Islander missionaries lived remotely from the main stations, and for survival, shared the daily lives and customs of the local Elema peoples, including observing ceremonies in which masks played an important role.

If the Islander missionaries were interested in the masks used in performance and ritual, they shared general interest typical of the broader LMS culture. The LMS had long held lively interest in collecting the material culture and recording the intangible culture of the peoples they were working to convert. Sometimes their collection revolved around using such objects as evidence of the 'heathen' ways of the peoples they were working to Christianize; sometimes they sold pieces and collections of material culture to raise funds for further mission work.

In New Guinea, Chalmers and Gill exemplified this pattern (e.g., Welsch 2006:80). In particular, far from wanting to see all evidence of 'heathen' rituals obliterated, Chalmers preserved Papuan Gulf masks that would otherwise have been destroyed or discarded at the end of ceremonies. Accompanying Motuans from Port Moresby on their annual trading mission to the Papuan Gulf, Chalmers travelled as far west as the Elema villages of Vailala, Orokolo, and Maipua (Chalmers 1884:3) — where he collected tapa masks:

As all the masks are burnt at the close of the ceremonies each year, he tried to secure some; they refused, but, assisted by a few friends, he secured seven, and had them hidden away in the dubu [hut], but neither love nor tomahawks could secure [a large representation of the spirit] Semese. Soon fires were lighted and masks, coats and kilts were ablaze (Robson 1903:133).

Aside from the cultural exposure of Cook Islander missionaries to the masking traditions of the Papuan Gulf, some basic similarities between the masks of these regions and those of Mangaia are evident. The Elema peoples made eharo (masks created primarily for amusement) and kovave (masks used in rituals) to entertain. Eharo had a comical aspect and were referred to as "things of gladness"; kovave were used in initiation ceremonies for young men, who wore them while re-enacting stories through dance and song (Gunn in Gunn & Geary 2006:92). Like pare 'eva, the eharo and kovave masks were frequently conical and made of tapa stretched over a wicker frame. They were likewise trimmed with tufts of plant fibre and had fringes of fibre from the bottom of the mask — although, being designed to cover the shoulders and upper torso of the wearer, these fringes were more extensive than those of the pare 'eva. Unlike pare 'eva, sometimes the finials of the Elema masks were topped with animal figures, and some faces had a long mouth with sharp teeth, as well as triangular projections representing ears. However, at least one surviving pare 'eva has these projections (Bishop Museum 06308).

Comparisons can also be made between the katu tūpāpaku of Mangaia and the masks of the Torres Strait Islands, where the LMS had a mission station and school on Mer (Murray Island), which itself became a staging post for mission ships. Torres Strait Islander masks were generally worn in celebratory, funerary, and initiation ceremonies, in which ancestors were also commemorated (David et al. 2004:19). The masks were often lively in their presence. Like katu tūpāpaku, they have highly figurative faces with staring eyes in which bright whites throw black pupils into sharp visual relief. They also often have slender noses, fibrous hair and beards, and pronounced ears. Formal comparisons between Torres Strait Islander masks and katu tūpāpaku are difficult as most katu tūpāpaku can be only seen in photographs. However, masks produced on Mer, such as a dogai (witch) mask of a type originally worn during a dogaira wetpur (a harvest feast and a dance) now in Cambridge Museum of Anthropology (MAA: 1986-09-15), make for a fascinating, if speculative, comparison.

"The LMS had long held lively interest in collecting the material culture and recording the intangible culture of the peoples they were working to convert."

There is one oral tradition that describes a resident LMS missionary, the Reverend Eastman, as forbidding the annual May Day celebrations featuring the peu tupuna, and replacing them with the biblical pageant of Nuku Day.

FIGURE 14
The same performance troupe on Taputapuatea, c.1907 as illustrated previously in Figure 11. (The date [1906] handwritten on the photo conflicts with the depiction of photographs apparently from the same set appearing in the *Otago Witness* in 1907). Two people are wearing figurative masks that may have been known as katu tūpāpaku (photo: C23697, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland).

If Mangaian masks did emerge during the period in which Cook Islander missionaries were exposed to Torres Strait Islander and Papuan Gulf masking traditions, the subsequent transposition of these traditions to Mangaia would have been swift. As Davidson observed, the development of masks on Mangaia had to occur later than 1885, given that almost no Cook Islander missionaries had returned home by this date (1997:171). This does not conflict with Baessler's story. If his story is correct, the cultural transference certainly would have been an unforeseen consequence of cross-cultural contact in the Gulf.

With hindsight, it would be easy to view Mangaian masks as evidence of extraordinary cultural change. However, the Mangaians of the day may have registered them quite differently. In context, they were only one material facet in the creative renewal of performances that had been going on for generations. In this sense, change was continuity. The peu tupuna was an "extraordinarily flexible art form" that readily incorporated new elements, and, although their performances saw them in the process of reconciling beliefs contrary to the prevailing Christianity, they remained indisputably Mangaian (McMath & Parima 1990:412). Although the costuming had changed, the performances were not necessarily intrinsically different.

We can only guess at why these masks disappeared. There is one oral tradition that describes a resident LMS missionary, the Reverend Eastman, as forbidding the annual May Day celebrations featuring the peu tupuna, and replacing them with the biblical pageant of Nuku Day. That the masks retreated as the peu tupuna became increasingly Christianized is one possible explanation of their departure; another explanation being that they disappeared as the 'aute (paper mulberry) from which they were made was grown less frequently, although conversely, tapa continued to be made from other tree species. It is also possible they simply fell from fashion. The carved wooden masks survived longer, transformed into biblical characters.

Today pare 'eva and katu tūpāpaku remain objects of mystery. For us, they hold the capacity to inspire wonderment: at the experiences and beliefs of the people who used them, at the individuals who first engaged the artistic licence to make them, and at those around them who willingly adopted their creative vision.

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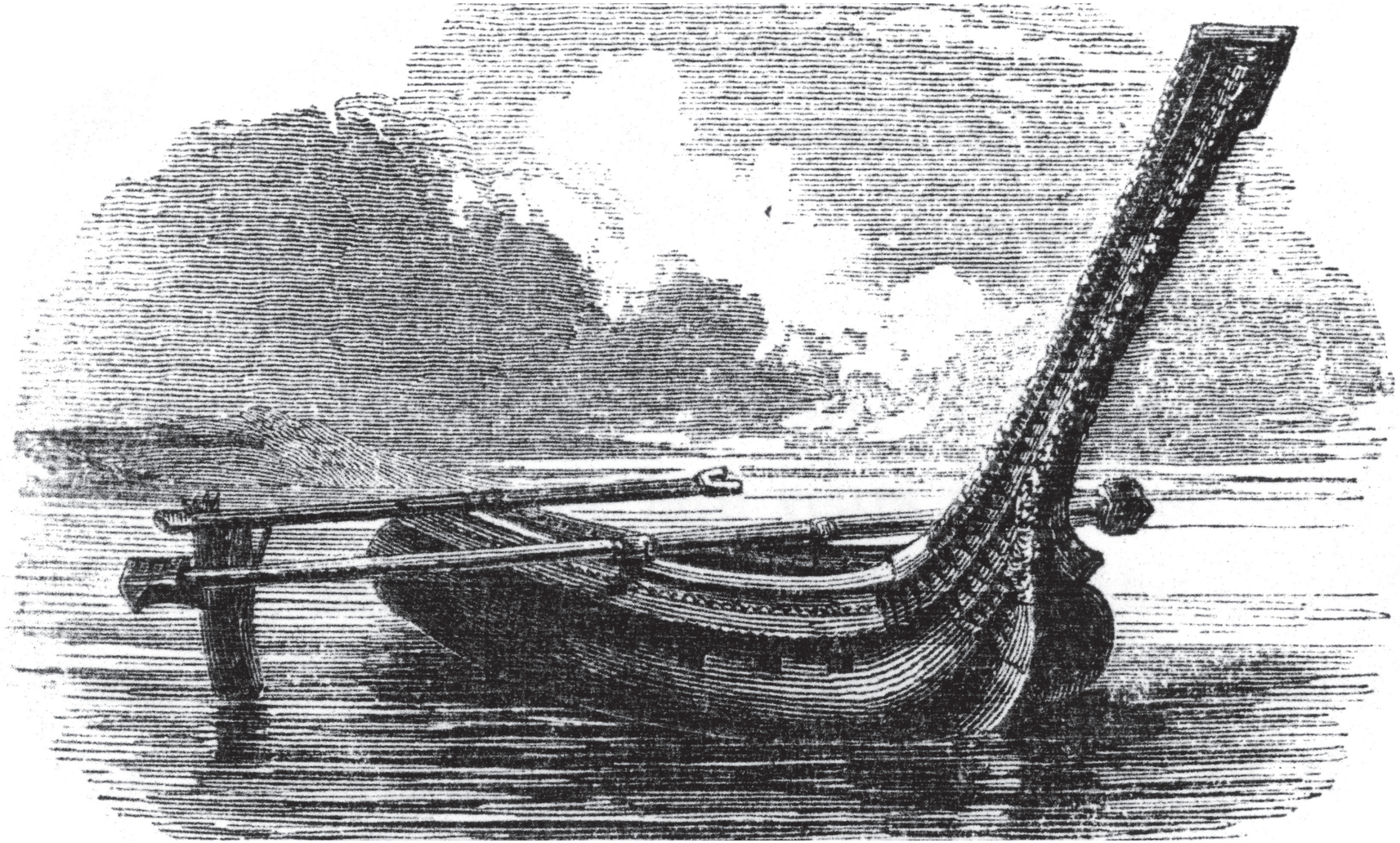
GLOSSARY

‘are	house
aronga te pō	the company of the world of night or darkness
atua	god
‘au	*Hibiscus tiliaceus,* hibiscus
‘aute	*Broussonetia papyrifera,* paper mulberry tree
dogai	witch (Torres Strait Islands)
dogaira wetpur	harvest feast and dance (Torres Strait Islands)
dubu	hut (Papua, PNG)
eharo	mask used in performance in the Papuan Gulf, created primarily for amusement, a ‘thing of gladness’ (PNG)
‘eva	ceremony for mourning
heiva	chief mourner in a funeral ceremony; dancing (Tahitian)
heva	see heiva
kaka	fibrous stipule at the base of the coconut frond
katu	skull, scalp, or head
katu tūpāpaku	Mangaian carved wooden mask
kau	name of a tattoo motif
kava	intoxicating drink made from the roots of the *Piper methysticum* plant, and the plant itself
kōrare	war spear
kovave	mask used in rituals in the Papuan Gulf (PNG)
makatea	raised formation of dead coral that divides the interior of the island from the coastal area below
manuta‘i	name of a tattoo motif
Matariki	the Pleiades
meitaki ma‘ata	thank you very much
mire	women’s actions song
parae heiva	mask worn by a heiva (Tahitian)
pare	head covering, including hat, headdress, mask
pare ‘eva	Mangaian mask made of bark cloth
pare tāreka	see pare ‘eva
pāreu	sarong, wrap-around skirt, kiri‘au hula skirt
pāreu kiri‘au	hula skirt
pātē	drum
pe‘e	poetic chant
peu ‘ētene	heathen custom
peu tupuna	ancestral custom
puna	district
puvakevake	name of a tattoo motif
renga	turmeric
ruru	name of a tattoo motif
tapa	cloth made from the bark of the paper mulberry tree
tāreka	amuse, entertain
tārekareka	amuse, entertain
tī	*Cordyline terminalis,* plant
tuata‘iti	name of a tattoo motif
tūpāpaku	dead person or corpse; spirit being or force; human silhouette; mischievous ghost
‘ūtē	song composed to commemorate an event
waschblau	washing blue (German)
Te Pō	‘the night’ or spirit world
tere tere	literally, to peel, slip, or slide; to travel
tiputa	poncho or short-sleeved shirt
tumu kōrero	knowledgeable group of people who decide which stories will be told and who compose new songs and dances
vaka	canoe

FIGURE 15
Detail of pare ‘eva (festival mask), c. 1907, cane, tapa, feather, fibre (photo: FE002323/1, Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand).

Section Three

WOOD AND CANVAS



Their [Rarotonga's] state canoes . . . . are very beautifully carved. . . ." in Belcher, Edward. 1843. *Narrative of a voyage round the world : performed in Her Majesty's ship Sulphur, during the years 1836-1842*. . . . London: Henry Colburn. p.19.

Chapter Nine

‘AKAIRO (MOTIFS) OF THE COOK ISLANDS

Teatuakaro Michael Tavioni
Terangi Nui o Iva

Graphics by Mike Tavioni, Raniera Ellison and Sam Ataera

> ***The process I have used is to present a photographic image of an original Cook Islands art work, from which I isolate and name the key ‘akairo.***

‘Akairo *n., mark, token, proof, symbol, an omen, etc*

v.t. To make a mark on anything, to impress with a sign, to make a sign or symbol on anything

v.i. to make a particular mark to represent one’s signature (Savage 1962:78)

This chapter discusses 24 ‘akairo (motifs) that occur in traditional carved images, weaving, tapa or tatau (tattoos) from the Cook Islands.

In many cases traditional names for Cook Islands ‘akairo have either not been recorded or have been inaccurately recorded. For those recorded here which have no traditional name, I have suggested a possible name–determined by the island of origin or the purpose for which the artifact was made, or the resemblance of the abstract motif to a real object. These are arbitrary and provisional names, and I am happy for anyone to challenge them, advise me of historically correct names, or suggest alternatives.

This discussion of Cook Islands ‘akairo refers to art-works of the past (up to around 1930) and does not include those created by contemporary Cook Islands artists. For these, both the naming and ownership rests with them. In a number of cases, the motifs are universal to the Pacific or a region of it. In those cases, I have recorded the Cook Islands names and stories.

The process I have used is to present a photographic image of an original Cook Islands art work, from which I isolate and name the key ‘akairo. The ‘akairo have been represented graphically, in singular and compositional forms, the latter made up of reiterations of the basic motif. I discuss the motif, artefact, and stories or provenances associated with the motif and with the original art work.

Only a small selection of Cook Islands ‘akairo is presented here. Cataloguing the remainder is the subject of a longer work in progress.

In the discussion which follows, a number of ‘akairo are described as variants of ‘tikitiki tangata.’ ‘Tiki’ refers to the anthropomorphic figures representing deities or deified ancestors. The act of carving an anthropomorphic figure is ‘akatikitiki. ‘Tikitiki tangata’ refers to the small abstract anthropomorphic images or designs.

1

There are five distinct motifs on this atua (see Buck 1944:345).

Tutara

Tupuna Va’ine

Maroitiki

Te ika mata o te Rongo

Potiki

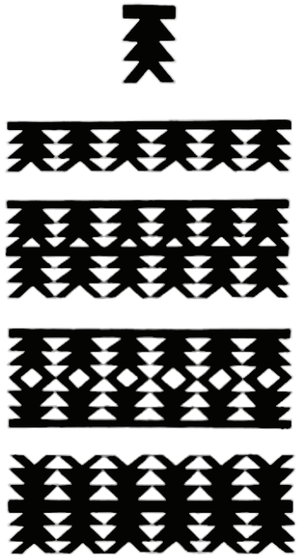
These individual motifs are described in more detail on the following pages.

This atua represents a deified ancestor or head of a tribe. In many of the Cook Islands, the head of the tribe is known as the Mata‘iapo Tutara. Accordingly, I have called the main motif Tutara.

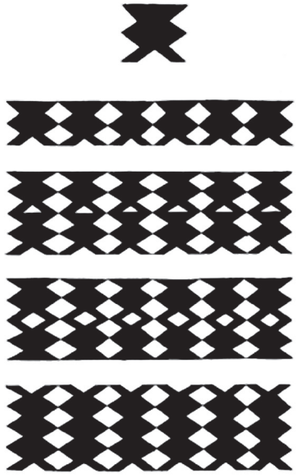
This atua was taken by Rongomatane and the missionary Rev. John Williams from its marae Tangiia Nui, close to the Orongo marae in Mokoero, Atiu. It was transported to England in the late 1820s and initially deposited in the LMS Museum. It is now in the British Museum. (Ref. Buck, 1944:345, Fig.215).

FIGURE 1
Deity image, Atiu. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: LMS 49 © Trustees of the British Museum).

1. Tutara



2. Tupuna Va'ine



This 'akairo represents an older woman and is found on the Atiu atua featured above. It is a variant of tikitiki tangata.

2

3. Maroitiki

In this 'akairo, the body and head are compressed, forming a straight line with two legs sticking out to one side. Most of the carvings using this motif are small and intricate carved.

Mangaians call this 'akairo Maroitiki, meaning tying or binding the maro (loin cloth). Some people call this motif Uritua, meaning 'turned back.' Sir Peter Buck calls it the 'K' motif because of its resemblance to the letter 'K' (e.g. Buck 1944:266).

This design belongs primarily to Mangaia but similar motifs are seen on artefacts from the Austral Islands and Ngaputoru (the islands of Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro).

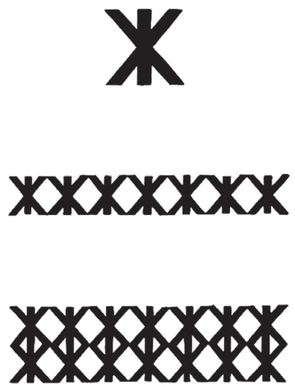
In its Mangaian form, the back of the heads of two K figures are usually represented back to back, but in Ngaputoru, the motifs are carved individually in isolation and unconnected.

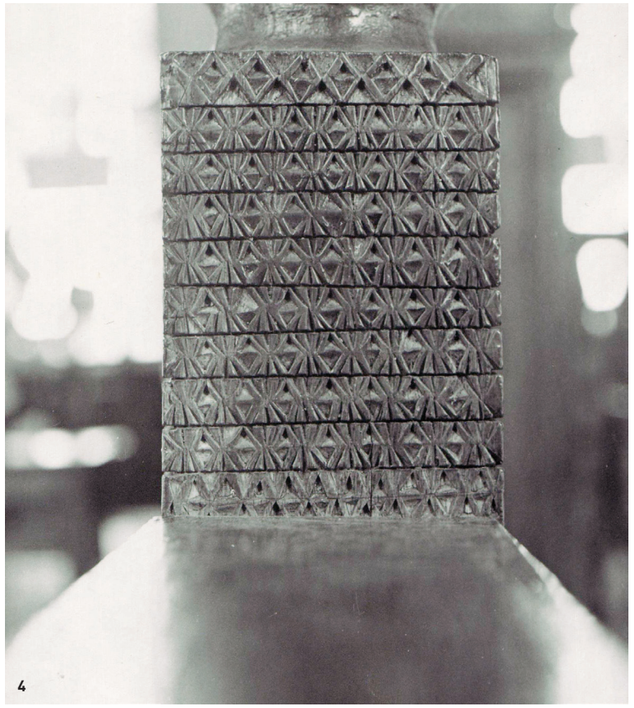
On Mangaian artefacts, this 'akairo is carved to cover the entire surface area. On an Atiu god, illustrated by Buck (1944:345, Fig.215), the motif appears as an individual unit, one of several other similar motifs, all representing the human form.

FIGURE 2
Detail, God image, Atiu. Late 18th or early 19th century. (photo: LMS 49 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 3
Carved Mangaian ka'ara or slit drum. Late 18th or early 19th century. (photo: LMS 488 © Trustees of the British Museum).

4. Arokapiti





4

Unlike Maroitiki, in this ‘akairo, the reverse Ks share a common back, rather than standing separately. This ‘akairo is said to symbolize the back to back fighting technique of Mangaian warriors who tied themselves together with a maro or loin cloth to form a single fighting unit, as in this account –

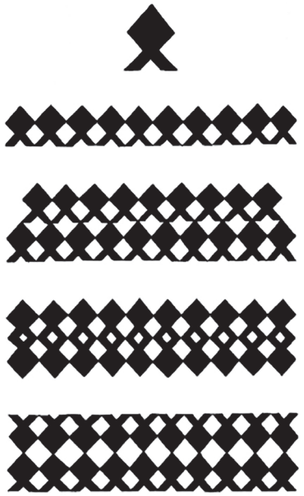
Ua itiki te nga tamariki a Tevaki i to raua maro e ua aere mai te Ngariki i te puruki ia raua. Ua aere raua na te tua katau i te purukianga. Ia oti, ua aere raua na te tua kaui i te purukianga. No te ngao oki o te Ngariki (tei karangaia i te reo enua e, e koapa kaka‘o te Ngariki me aere i mua i te taua puruki), are atu i reira i rauka ana ia raua i te ta e ua mate atu oki raua.

Tevaki’s two sons tied their maro together as the Ngariki tribe came to fight them. They battled on the right flank and when they had finished, they battled on the left flank. Because of the large number of Ngariki, (it was said in the language of the island, that the Ngariki were like koapa kaka‘o [closely woven reed walls] when they went toward the battlefield) they were not victorious and were killed (unpublished Mangaian oral tradition).

FIGURE 4
Carving, Oneroa Church, Mangaia, c. 1954 (D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

5. Ika mata o te Rongo

5



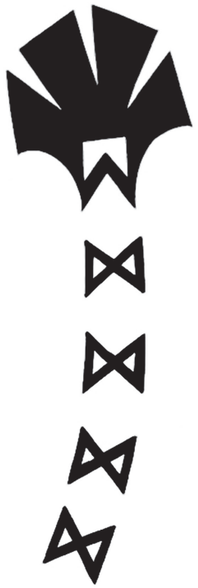
This motif appears on several atua from Ngaputoru and Aitutaki. The basic form is like a fish, but the fish also represents a human form.

The “ika mata o te Rongo” is a human sacrifice that was traditionally placed in each corner of a marae to consecrate it. However, the sacrifice of an urua (giant trevally, *Caranx ignobilis*) was considered a satisfactory substitute. Thus the ‘fish’ or sacrifice might be either fish or man.

This ‘akairo repeats the form of a fish, which is also a man, hence the name I have suggested: Ika mata o te Rongo.

FIGURE 5
Aitutaki deity figure, the lower portion presented as a pair of stylized human legs; wood; height 51 cms; private collection (photo: Bridgeman Image # BON83852 © Bonhams, London, UK).

6. Rauteve



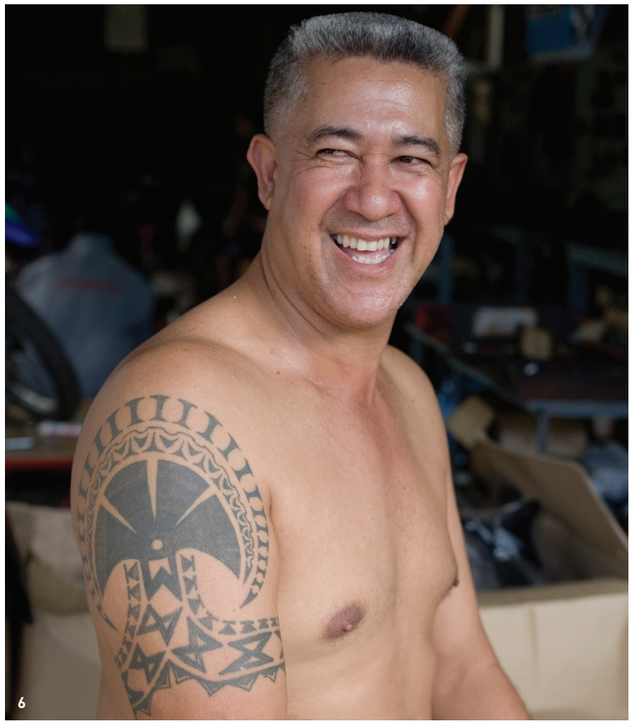


FIGURE 6
Taupini Ama, a descendant of Tupai, with the rauteve tattoo (photo: the author).

This ‘akairo comprises two elements. The top part of the design, with three or four leaflets is the Rauteve or Leaf of the teve (a type of yam). The stock is made of the Ivi motif (see Fig. 7 below). In this composite form, the ‘akairo is used exclusively in Rarotonga and only in tattooing.

In 1929, I saw three old Rarotongans who were tattooed. They were Tupai of Ngatangiia, age 60, and Pakitoa and Tai ‘Uritaua both of Avatiu and both about 77 years old. All three bore the rauteve motif on the back of the neck. Tupai said that formerly all Rarotongans who joined ships as sailors had the rauteve tattooed upon them to show that they were Rarotongans, the rauteve being an exclusive Rarotongan pattern of which they were proud. He stated that he was the last Rarotongan to be so tattooed. The full tattooing of this pattern extended from the back of each ear and across the neck in a curve with the convexity downward. Tupai’s tattooing was on the left side, and he stated that the pain was so great that he refused to have it completed on the other side. His two older countrymen had the tattooing on the right side; and evidently they also objected to the pain, for their tattooing stopped on the middle line of the neck (Buck 1944:131, see also p.132, Figs. 72a&b).

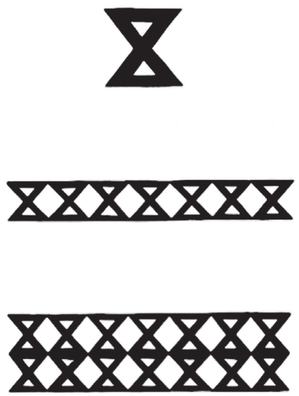
Buck notes of Figure 6B, “The three-limbed motif . . . somewhat resembling the *rau-teve* motif in tattooing, is placed on the front of the ear instead of the back. The vertebra motif [ivi] is on the thighs instead of the back of the neck” (Buck 1944:314).

FIGURE 6A
Rauteve tattoo design (photo: Sir Peter Buck, SP 15654 © B.P. Bishop Museum, Hawai‘i).

FIGURE 6B
Fisherman’s diety, Rarotonga. Late 18th or early 19th century. Height: 32.5 cm (photo: AOA 9866 © Trustees of the British Museum).

7. Ivi

7



7A

FIGURE 7
Rarotongan staff god, c. 1827, wrapped in tapa. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: BM Oc1978 Q.845, l © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 7A (DETAIL)
Rarotongan staff god, c. 1827, wrapped in tapa. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: BM Oc1978 Q.845, l © Trustees of the British Museum).

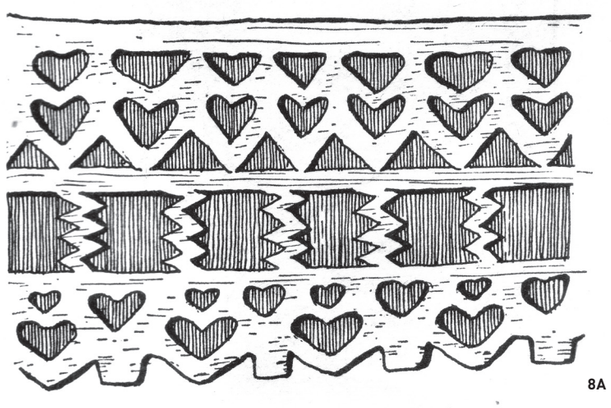
Ivi are the vertebrae of a human, fish or animal. When minor tribes are joined in one large tribe they are collectively called an ivi. As an isolated motif, ivi are found in weaving, carving and tatau. In composite form, it is found in the stock of the Rauteve (Fig.6 above).

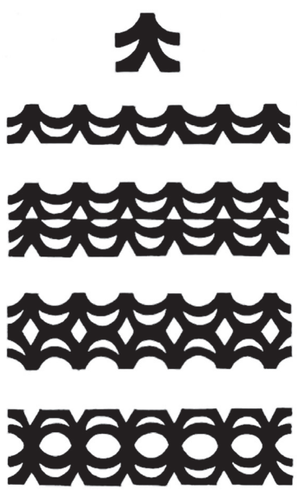
The motif can either be solid or blocked in, or it may be simply an outline with narrow or bold lines.

The Ivi ‘akairo is found in all parts of Polynesia and in some Polynesians outliers, such as Tikopia.

8. Matakeinanga or Moumourima

8


8A



This motif represents the human form and is a variant of tikitiki tangata. It is predominantly Aitutakian. Found on the side of the Aitutaki atamira, or chief’s seat (Buck 1927:369, Fig.315) the continuous joining of hands and feet of the motif depicts the people’s unity in support of their chief. Thus, it is figuratively the people and not the atamira that supports the chief. I have called this design Matakeinanga, meaning tribe or family.

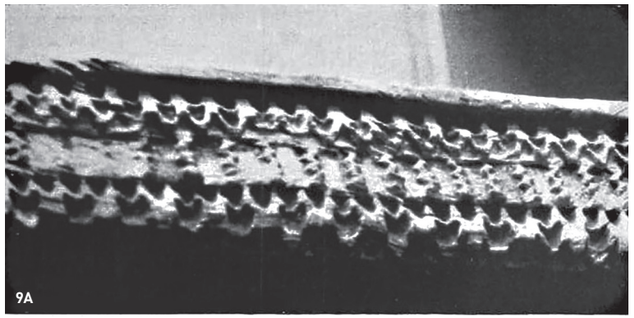
The alternative name for this motif, Moumourima, means “holding hands” and was coined by the Rarotongan carver Uka Marotini in the late 1970s.

This motif has slightly different forms in the art of other islands of the Cook Islands. In skin drums, ceremonial paddles, and other artefacts of the Austral Islands, the motif is more detailed and depicts the headgear, nose, ears, and mouth among other details.

FIGURE 8
Aitutaki atamira or carved seat (photo: Auckland War Memorial Museum, AM12995).

FIGURE 8A
Aitutaki atamira (photo: Auckland War Memorial Museum, AM12995 (Detail from Archey 1965:18)).

9. Tupuna ‘Onu



This ‘akairo is a variant of tikitiki tangata but, because of its resemblance to a turtle, I have called it Tupuna ‘Onu or ancestral turtle.

FIGURE 9
The tupuna ‘onu motif is found in the bottom layer of designs on the Aitutaki atamira or carved seat (photo: Auckland War Memorial Museum, AM12995).

FIGURE 9A
Another view of the Aitutaki atamira (photo: Archey 1965:18).

10. Manuta’i (Aitutaki)

Buck identified this ‘akairo as Aitutakian (1927:365, Fig.309; 1944:130, Fig.70).

On Aitutaki, this ‘akairo appears as a tattoo comprising “vertical lines running down spine and oblique pairs running upwards to mid-axilliary lines” (Buck 1944:130).

A similar tattoo motif in Mangaia is named Tuata‘iti (Buck 1944:131).

FIGURES 10 & 10A
Female deity and detail, Aitutaki. Acquired 1825 (photo: Munich 190 © Museum Fünf Kontinente, München Marietta Weidner.

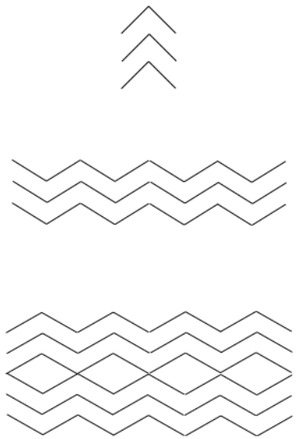
11. Manuta'i (Mangaia)

The name of this Mangaian design is Manuta'i, meaning seabird.

According to Buck (1911:96) – used as a tattoo motif, "Manuta'i runs across and encircles the forearm, with the sharp points of the angles towards the hand." Individuals who originally wore this tattoo design were likely prominent people with some relationship to the sea, as navigators, canoe builders, or fishing experts (taunga tautai).

FIGURE 11
Detail of a Mangaian paddle, 19th century (photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 99-12-70/53508 (digital file# 98600130).

12. Papavaro



Buck recorded this design as an Aitutakian tattoo motif (1927:364, Fig.305), generally located on the abdomen and front of the thigh. Sometimes the design is also tattooed on the back of the thigh.

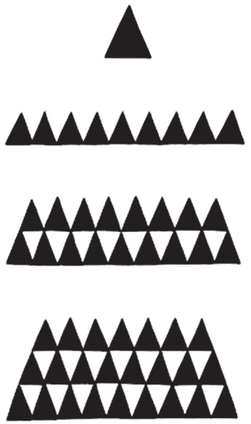
The Aitutaki name Papavaro may refer to the tracks made by the varo (a crustacean) walking in the sand. The varo is similar to a crayfish or lobster.

The motif also appears in decorative weaving, tapa and carvings.

FIGURE 12
Wood club with a flat serrated head and thirty serrations on each side. Mangaia. Length: 61.5 inches (photo: Oc1957,08.1 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 12A
Piece of barkcloth decorated with black pattern on neutral background. Tiputa or poncho (photo: Oc1981,Q.1524 © Trustees of the British Museum).

13. Niʻo Mangō



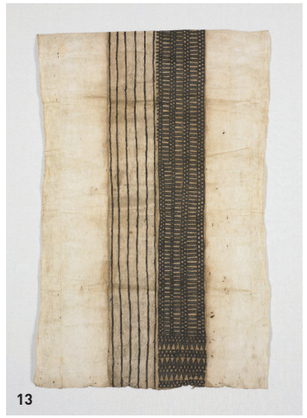

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FIGURE 13
A Rarotongan bark cloth incorporating the shark's tooth pattern (photo: Oc1981,Q.1427 © The Trustees of the British Museum).

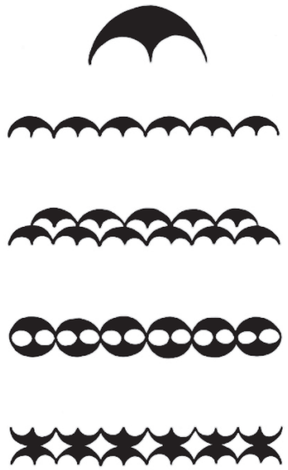
FIGURE 13A
Tapa mask or pare ʻeva with the shark's tooth pattern on the headband. Mangaia (collected Arorangi, Rarotonga, 1899) (photo: AM8353 Auckland War Memorial Museum).

13A

This ʻakairo of a row of triangles representing shark teeth symbolizes strength. Repeated rows, one on top of the other, represent a toa (warrior) and again symbolize strength and valour. William Wyatt Gill recorded that "the sharks teeth pattern (niʻo mangō)" (1885:274) was carved on the hafts of adzes. This ʻakairo is universal to Polynesia. In its basic form, it is found in tapa, carving, lashing, tatau and weaving.

14. Niʻo Manu

14

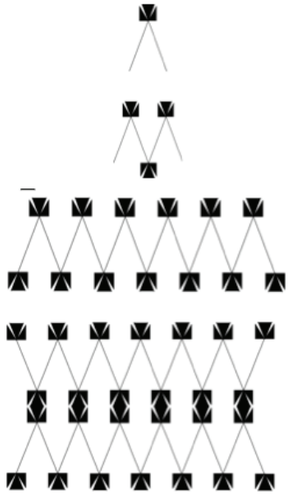


The three sharp points of this motif indicate teeth. I have named it Niʻo Manu after an Atiuan ancestor.

This ʻakairo is seen on the prow of a double canoe from Atiu in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

FIGURE 14
Te Kiva o te Rangi – A vaka katea (double hull canoe) donated by Parua Ariki of Atiu (photo: 46296 Auckland War Memorial Museum). The Niʻo Manu motif is carved in front of the forward carrying pole.

15. Puvakevake



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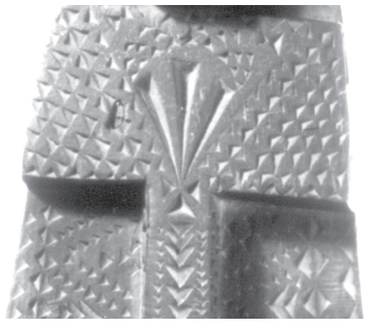


15A

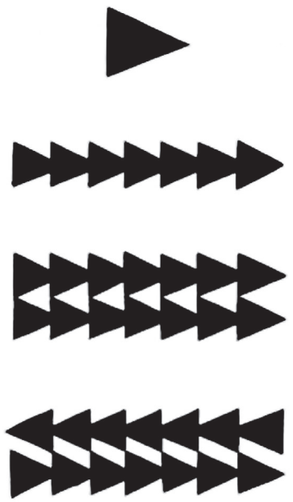
This Mangaian ‘akairo represents moko taro or young taro shoots. In Mangaia, vakevake refers to a brood, or large group of children. It symbolizes a new generation or regeneration. Buck (1911:96) recorded the design on the shoulders and upper arms of Daniela Tangitoru, one of the Mangaian performers at the 1906 Christchurch Exhibition. He wrote “Puwakewake consists of zigzag lines meeting at acute angles, with three rays projecting out from the angles. These rays are shaped like the arms of a Maltese Cross. The site is upon the chest, and also upon the shoulder and upper arm. According to Tangitoru (in Buck 1911:96), the number of zig-zag lines have reference to the genealogy of the individual, whilst the three arms projecting from the angles represent the three ancient tribes of Mangaia.” (1911:96)[Akatauira, Vairuarangi, and Paparangi]. Hamilton (1911:101) noted that sometimes a fourth wedge or ray was inserted to represent the assertive and warlike Tonga’iti tribe.

FIGURE 15
Detail of Vaka ‘Au’au (photo: Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington). Hamilton (1911:101) noted of this canoe motif-“Ancestral tattooing called tavakevake. This is a copy of the pattern on the breast of Tangitoru. It is supposed to enable the bearer to increase and multiply.”

FIGURE 15A
Detail of Vaka ‘Au’au (photo: Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington). This vaka was carved by Daniela Tangitoru of Mangaia, Buck and Hamilton’s informant.

16. ‘Ara tai

16



The ‘Ara tai is the pandanus that grows beside the beach (*Pandanus tectorius*). The ‘Ara tai motif represents the segments of the pandanus fruit sewn together in a row.

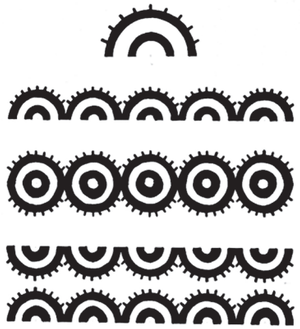
This ‘akairo is used in weaving, tapa, and carving but mostly tattooing.

The ‘akairo usually appears in a continuous row of units joined end to end.

The ‘Ara tai ‘akairo is found everywhere in Polynesia. In many islands, the name is the same.

FIGURE 16
Detail of Vaka ‘Au’au (photo: Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington).

17. Kina



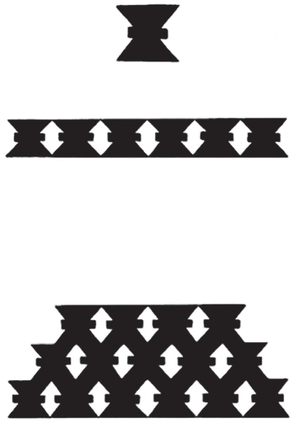
17A

I have named this Kina for the spiked sea urchin which was used for food and for medicine.

This ‘akairo is evident on numerous tapa cloths attributed to Cook Islands and on various wood carvings.

FIGURES 17 & 17A
Details of tapa (bark cloth) with dyed background and painted designs, Cook Islands (photo: © Field Museum, Chicago. A106504C).

18. ‘Ata and Matarua



I have named the black motif ‘Ata or Atamira for its resemblance to a traditional chief’s seat. I have called the white motif Matarua–for its resemblance to two spear points.

FIGURE 18
Mangaia paddle, 19th century (photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 99-12-70/53508 (digital file# 98600130).

19. Molokau

Molokau is the Pukapuka word for the centipede. This ‘akairo is a weaving design found on Pukapuka pandanus mats, baskets, tiputa and other artefacts.

FIGURE 19
Fisherman's god, prow figure of fishing canoe, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, before 1843, wood and pigment, 41 cm × 19 cm. Gift of the Heirs of David Kimball, 1899 (photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 99-12-70/53517 -digital file# 20040035).

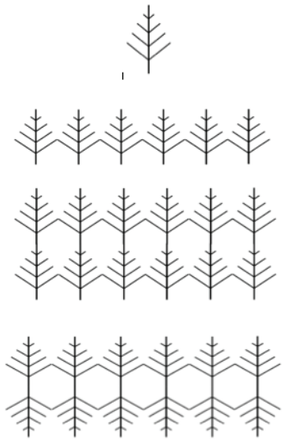
20. ‘Onu

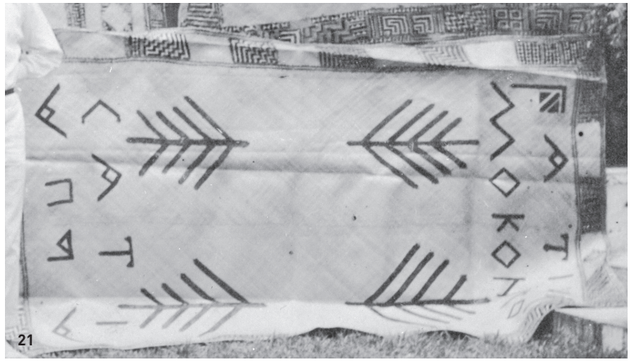
This is a turtle design. Turtles were food reserved for chiefs. Perhaps, this ‘akairo was also reserved for the decoration of chiefs. The motif is seen on the knee of Makea Pori and in some versions of the portrait of Te Pō (see Alexeyeff, this volume).

The king, whose name is Makea, is a handsome man in the prime of life, about six feet high, and very stout ; of noble appearance, and of a truly commanding aspect. His complexion is light ; and, at the time of which I write, his body was most beautifully tatooed, and slightly coloured with a preparation of turmeric and ginger, which gave it a light orange tinge, and, in the estimation of the Rarotongans, added much to the beauty of his appearance (Williams 1837:27).

FIGURE 20
"Makea Pori ariki of Teauotonga (Rarotonga) holding the bible in his right hand"-from the Rev. John Williams collection of 30 large watercolours relative to the South Seas (photo: nla. pic-an13866985-v National Library of Australia, Canberra).

21. Kikau



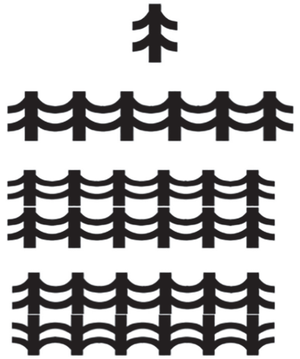


The Kikau motif is an artistic representation of the coconut leaf. Traditionally, kikau had many uses, including conveying messages announcing imposition of a tapu (prohibition), ra'ui (harvesting restriction), death, etc.

The Kikau 'akairo found on this mat is possibly from Mokoero-Nui-O-Tautipa or Ngatiarua village on Atiu.

FIGURE 21
Mat, Atiu, c. 1930 (detail from photo: F104219–1/2 © Turnbull Library, Wellington).

22. Pou 'Enua



This 'akairo resembles a pou (post). The pou 'enua, or central post, is the most important post in a house. This 'akairo is a variant of tikitiki tangata. It is evident on the front of an unu or carved slab from Aitutaki (see Buck 1944:332).

FIGURE 22
Aitutaki unu or marae ornament. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: LMS Oc1982 Q.120 (front) © Trustees of the British Museum).

23. Tapairu Vāviatini

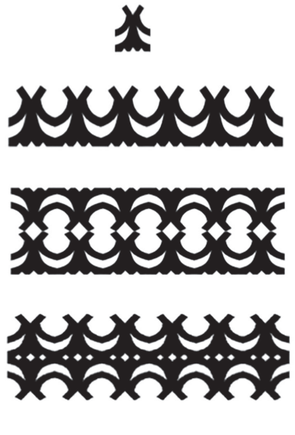
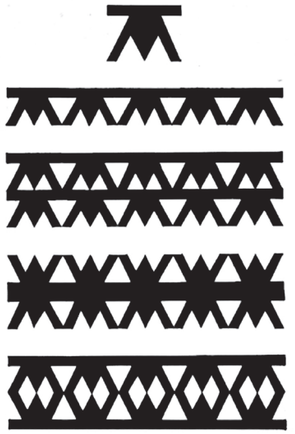


FIGURE 23
Aitutaki unu or marae ornament. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: LMS Oc1982 Q.120 (back) © Trustees of the British Museum).

Tapairu means honoured woman, and vāviatini means literally multiple feet; thus, I have given this ‘akairo the name Tapairu Vāviatini. This ‘akairo, a variant of tikitiki tangata, appears on the back of the unu from Aitutaki.

24. Tamatoa



This ‘akairo of young male warriors is a variant of the tikitiki tangata design.

FIGURE 24
Aitutaki unu or marae ornament; wood, sinnet coir, barkcloth; Length: 19 inches. Late 18th or early 19th century (photo: Oc, LMS.44 © Trustees of the British Museum).

This short examination of Cook islands motifs ('akairo) indicates that the majority of 'akairo found in traditional Cook Islands art are based on representations of the human form, animals, birds or natural elements. . . .

CONCLUSION

This short examination of Cook Islands 'akairo indicates that the majority of motifs found in traditional Cook Islands art are based on representations of the human form, animals, birds or natural elements–and appear repetitively, linked together as unified groups. Individual anthropomorphic forms (tiki) exist only as gods or deified ancestors. The natural condition is collective.

The characteristic reiteration of 'akairo, evident in all Cook Islands art works, including those presented above, was regarded by Stolpe as in part a pragmatic response to the space available for decoration. But perhaps more significantly, "By means of perpetual reiteration of certain ornamental elements, they suggest the divinity to whose service the decorated implement was in some way dedicated" (Stolpe 1903:103).

Thomas (1995:108) has suggested that multiplication generates efficacy arguing that, in the art of tattoo –"The anthropomorphic images are highly reduced and schematized perhaps precisely to facilitate their reproduction; a plethora of additional bodies [represented in design] could be seen to empower proportionately the otherwise weak individual." By the same logic, a plethora of 'akairo on, for example, a highly decorated unu, may provide greater efficacy to the carved object, the iterations, like rows of rosary beads, acting as repeated invocations to the gods, summoning them from Te Pō (the other world) to have effect in Te Ao (this world).

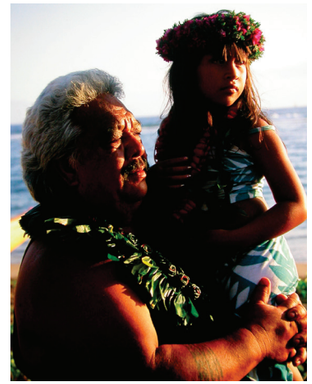
Gill sees repetition or reduplication as "the key trope [in Polynesian society] for making plurality singular and singularity plural. Any individual person is 'multiple' in the sense of being the precipitate of a multitude of genealogical relationships, each of which is instantiated in his/her person; and conversely, an aggregate of persons such as a lineage or tribe, is 'one person' in consequence of being one genealogy; the original ancestor is now instantiated, not as one body but as many bodies into which his one body has transformed itself" (Gill 1995:140).

These ideas together with the documentation of a wider range of 'akairo are the subject of a further work in progress.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Teatuakaro Michael Tavioni Terangi Nui o Iva (seen here with granddaughter Tepua Maui) is a graduate of Massey University School of Horticulture and holds a Post Graduate Diploma in Art and Design from AUT University. He is an artist, master carver, and canoe maker. He has travelled extensively through the Pacific representing the Cook Islands at festivals and exhibitions. He lives with his wife and extended family in Avatiu, Rarotonga. He is currently studying for a Master of Arts degree with AUT University.

FIGURE 25
The traditional practice of decorating canoes is shown on this working cargo canoe, Mangaia, Cook Islands, c.1920. *Taking Fruit out to a Steamer by canoe at one of the Cook Islands* (photo: Sir George Gray Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS 19090506-3-2).



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Chapter Ten

THE RAROTONGAN KI'IKI'I (STAFF GOD) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Teatuakaro Michael Tavioni
Terangi Nui o Iva

1

While visiting Rarotonga in 1827, the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary, the Rev. John Williams and his wife were requested to take their seats outside the door of the mission house together with the resident missionary Rev. Charles Pitman and his wife. Williams reported that

> *. . . on doing so we observed a large concourse of people coming towards us bearing heavy burdens. They walked in procession and dropped at our feet fourteen immense idols, the smallest of which was about five yards in length. Each of these was composed of a piece of aito, or ironwood, about four inches in diameter, carved with a rude imitation of the human head at one end, and with an obscene figure [phallus] at the other, wrapped round with native cloth until it became two or three yards in circumference. Near the wood were red feathers, and a string of small pieces of polished pearl shell, which were said to be the manava or soul of the god. Some of these idols were torn to pieces before our eyes; others were reserved to decorate the rafters of the chapel we proposed to erect and one was kept to be sent to England which is now in the Missionary Museum (1837:116).*

Some indication of the immense size of the god staffs is provided by the Rarotongan native orometua (teacher) Maretu — here describing ten of the gods of the Rarotongan ariki (chief) Makea Karika:

> *when they had adorned the ten idols, they were then wrapped with cloth decorated with kura [red material] and kotaa [frigate bird feathers]. The feet and heads [of the gods] were decorated with white shells while the middle parts were wrapped in tikoru [thick bark cloth] and some long thick ngata [rope made of vine]. Twenty [spans] of ngata was needed to wrap around the main idol. Each of the main idols in the marae measured 10 [spans] while the smaller ones were 5 or 6 [spans] tall. . . . Ten people could not lift one of them. It required from fifty to a hundred to carry the largest idol (Maretu 1983:59-60).*

Figure 2 shows the Rev. John Williams pointing to a scaled-down Rarotongan god staff on board ship headed for LMS headquarters in Raiatea. Williams described how "as other warriors feel a pride in displaying trophies of the victories they win, we hung the rejected idols . . . . to the yard-arms and other parts of the vessel, entered the harbour in triumph, sailed down to the settlement, and dropped anchor amidst the shouts and congratulations of our people" (1837:107–108).

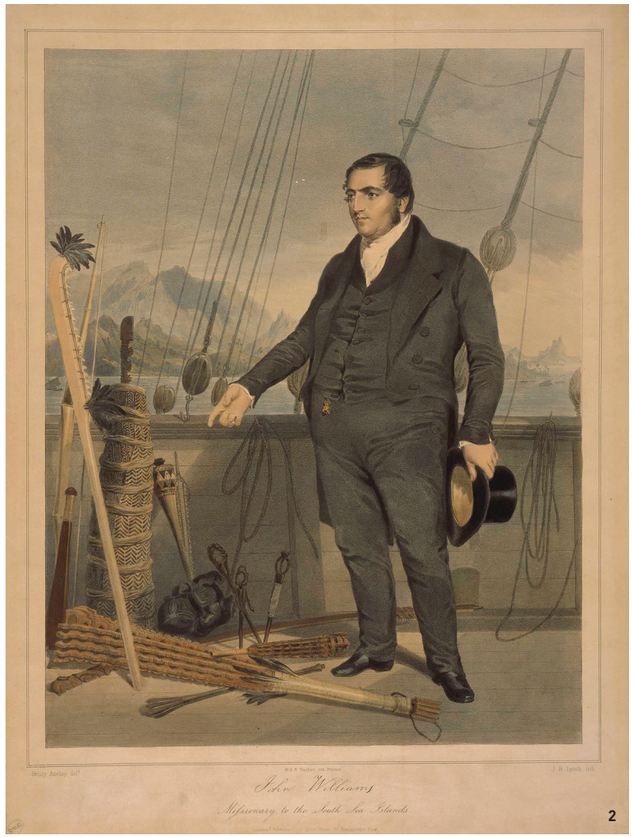

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FIGURE 1
Tangaroa, "God staff" with bark cloth in the British Museum, London; formerly in the London Missionary Society Museum, 18th or early 19th century AD, length: 3.960 m (approx.) (photo: AOA Q78.Oc.845 © Trustees of the British Museum). There were on Rarotonga a large number of these representations of god measuring from 73 centimetres (cm) to over 6 metres (m) in length (Hooper 2006:223). The frontispiece of Williams's (1837) *Narrative* shows smaller versions being carried upright on a litter.

FIGURE 2
John Williams, Missionary to the South Sea Islands. Lithograph by J.H. Lynch after Henry Anelay's original. On board ship, Williams points to Cook Islands and other idols, including a scaled-down version of the Rarotongan god staff wrapped in bark cloth.

Some of the idols taken to Raiatea were eventually sent on to 14, Bloomfield Street, Finsbury, London, where the LMS had established a Missionary Museum (King 2011:54). Figures 3 and 4 show the Rarotongan god staff sent to London by Williams on display in the Missionary Museum.

FIGURE 3
London Missionary Society Museum, London, 19th-century black and white wood engraving, *Illustrated London News*, 20 May 1843:342. The staff god is on the left of the image (photo: No.10141708, Mary Evans Picture Library).

FIGURE 4
The Museum of the London Missionary Society, 19th-century black and white lithograph, *Illustrated London News*, 25 Jun 1859:620 (photo: No.10141706, Mary Evans Picture Library).

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FIGURE 5
The base of the god staff is visible and surrounded by layers of bark cloth. The end of the staff, composed of small figures and a phallus, is missing. (photo: Oc1978,Q.845 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 6
Conservators working on the god staff, July 2006 (photo: Oc1978,Q.845 © Trustees the British Museum).

FIGURE 7
Tikoru (bark cloth) wrapped around the god staff (photo: Oc1978,Q.845 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 8
Free-standing figure from Rarotonga, also called the Armitage figure, in the George Ortiz collection (photo: Ortiz, 1994, cat. no. 274; 56.5cm, © Bridgemans Images).

FIGURE 9
Free-standing figure from Rarotonga, British Museum, London (photo: Inv. No. AOA LMS 169; 69cm, ex LMS Collection © Trustees of the British Museum).

In 1890, the Missionary Museum loaned the god staff to the British Museum. The British Museum purchased it in 1911, and it remains in their collection today. Figures 5, 6, and 7 show the Rarotongan god staff undergoing conservation at the British Museum.

IDENTITY OF THE GOD

According to LMS missionary Robert Bourne, who visited Rarotonga in 1825, the "four principal deities [on Rarotonga] were Taaroa [Tangaroa], Butea, [Vatea] Toahiti [Tongaiti], Motoro" (cited in King 2011:144). King noted that the Rarotongan staff gods probably represented one of these four gods. Hooper explained "Little is known of the function or identity of these [god staff] images. . . . What is clear is that in their materials they combine the results of the skilled labour of men and women. They also have an explicit sexual aspect, thus embodying male and female productive and reproductive qualities" (2006:225). Roger Duff (1969:61) speculated,

Evidence is strongest for believing the god to be Tangaroa, supreme deity of the Cook Islands pantheon, represented in his creative aspect as the large profile head, surmounting a staff of iron wood (toa) in the form of an elongated phallus, linking the successive generations of ancestors . . . . Like all Polynesian "idols" the staff-god of Rarotonga represented a material emblem which the spirit of the god took temporary residence during religious ceremonies.

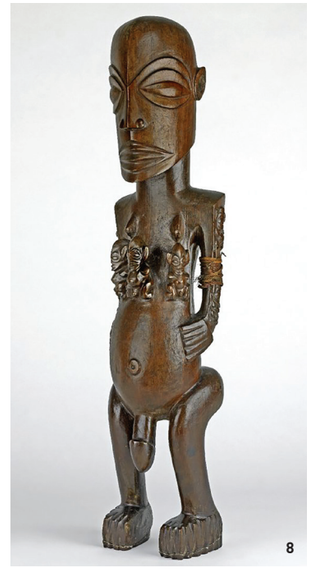
Support for Duff's speculation that the Rarotongan staff gods are in fact Tangaroa comes from the journal of the Rev. Charles Pitman. Pitman lived on Rarotonga contemporaneously with the existence of the staff gods and was present at the surrender of Makea Karika's staff gods (referenced above). He wrote,

It appears that Tagnaroa [sic] their god often left them & went over to their foes. Which while it caused great grief to the one party, it produced the most lively joy to the other. This was known to be the case in their non-success in War, or the illness of some great chief. A great quantity of food was instantly collected, with pigs &tc & taken to the Marae to invite his return, which when he saw he would sometimes return. But if his displeasure was very great & he did not return, they would cut out another kiikii i.e. representation of their god & clothe it with Rolls of new cloth, & often times erect a new Marae in order that his anger might be appeased" (Journal, 23 Oct 1835:235).

The probable identification of the ki'iki'i as Tangaroa adds to doubts about the identification of a number of god figures from Rarotonga, in particular the Armitage figure in the Ortiz collection (Ortiz, 1994, cat. no. 274; 56.5cm) and a standing figure in the British Museum (Inv. No. AOA LMS 169; 69cm), shown in Figures 8 and 9 to the right.

The chests of both of these Rarotongan figures bear secondary carved figures that are similar to the smaller figures carved on the Rarotongan staff god. The Armitage figure has six small figures, two on the chest that are well finished, and two each on the thighs and buttocks that have been left rough. The British Museum figure has three small figures in high relief on the chest, plus two further figures in low relief on each arm (Fig.11), all male (Hooper 2006:221). These secondary figures, together with the evidence of an old label on the British Museum figure (in pencil with the words, "Te Rongo and his three sons from Rarotonga"), have led some writers to identify the British Museum figure as Te Rongo. Buck dismissed this identification (1944:316).

Based on similarities in the profile of the staff god and the standing figures — high forehead, elliptical eyes with protruding eyeballs, lines for the eyelids and eyebrows, pronounced ears, and a pointed chin — the standing figures more likely represent Tangaroa.



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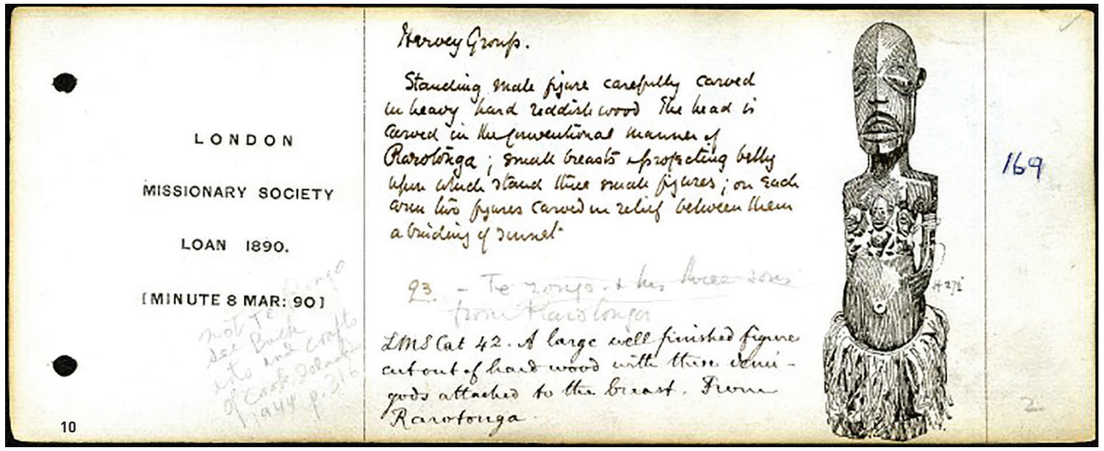

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FIGURE 10
Label on the British Museum standing figure shows in faint handwriting, (author unknown)"Te Rongo and his three sons from Rarotonga" crossed off and "not Te Rongo see Buck Arts and Crafts of Cook Islands 1944 p.316 (photo: Oc,LMS.169Oc,LMS.169 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURES 11 & 12
The profile of the British Museum figure (left) establishes its close relationship to the Tangaroa staff god (right). Both share characteristics of a high forehead, elliptical eyes with protruding eyeballs, lines for the eyelids and eyebrows, pronounced ears, and a pointed chin (photos: left, Inv. No. AOA LMS 169; 69cm, ex LMS Collection © Trustees of the British Museum, and right, BM Oc1978,Q.845 © Trustees of the British Museum).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Teatuakaro Michael Tavioni Terangi Nui o Iva is a graduate of Massey University School of Horticulture. He holds a Post Graduate Diploma in Art and Design from AUT University and is currently studying towards a Masters of Arts. He is an artist, master carver and canoe maker, and has travelled extensively through the Pacific representing the Cook Islands at festivals and exhibitions. He lives with his wife and extended family in Avatiu, Rarotonga.

FIGURES 13
Peephole diorama of the London Missionary Society Museum with Rarotonga ki'iki'i in rear left hand corner (photo: London School of Oriental and African Studies).

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GLOSSARY

aito	ironwood *(Casuarina equisetifolia)* (Tahitian)
ariki	chief
ki'iki'i	staff god / god staff
kōta'a	frigatebird (*Fregata aerial*)
kura	red material
manava	soul
ngata	rope made of vine
orometua	teacher
tikoru	thick bark cloth
toa	ironwood *(Casuarina equisetifolia)*

Chapter Eleven

SOME INFLUENCES ON CONTEMPORARY VISUAL ARTS IN THE COOK ISLANDS

Ian George

Contemporary influences on the visual arts in the Cook Islands have come from external sources varying widely, from expatriate artists moving to Rarotonga to workshops funded by such organizations as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and Creative New Zealand. Rarely have they been internal, emanating from a particular artist or group of artists resident in the Cook Islands. A recent influence has been the return of the New Zealand–born Cook Islands artists and art graduates for a brief sabbatical or to live in the Cook Islands. This chapter discusses early major influences, developing Māori art, and prospects for the future.

EARLY AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Artists and art students often turn to missionary and colonial collections of Cook Islands artefacts, including those of Walter Edward Gudgeon, Lord Bledisloe, and the Oldman Collection as starting points for their work. Some images from museum collections have become iconic. The heavily tattooed Rarotongan Ariki Te Pō has been reprinted and repainted numerous times (see Alexeyeff, this volume). Early photographs of the Dancing Frisbie Sisters have been reprinted as postcards and posters, and more recently reprinted onto fabric and turned into garments.

A number of books have been influential. Peter Buck's (1944) *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands,* his comprehensive anthropological and ethnological research, has become the primary source of information, even a bible of sorts, for many artists and craftspeople. It is frequently referenced when reproducing artefacts or the patterned sinnet lashings on canoes and adzes, or as the starting point for designs for tatau (tattoo). Dale Idiens' (1986) *Cook Islands Art* has an excellent collection of photographed artefacts to which artists and art students refer often.

Expatriates artists have also influenced the direction of art in the Cook Islands. In the 1950s the Australian Charles McPhee (1910–2002), arrived from Tahiti where he had studied velvet painting from the master of this art form, Edgar Leeteg.[1] McPhee (the "Velvet Gaugin") stayed on Rarotonga for a short time.

A recent influence has been the return of the New Zealand–born Cook Islands artists and art graduates for a brief sabbatical or to live in the Cook Islands.

[1] *"Leeteg the Legend" was immortalized in* Rascals in Paradise *by James Michener and A. Grove Day (1957).*

FIGURE 1
Nanette Lela'ulu, After Transit (Portrait of Ian George). 2010. Acrylic on canvas. 1600mm x 1000mm. Collection of the University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

2

A number of his paintings on velvet are in the collection of the Cook Islands Library and Museum.

Californian Rick Welland arrived on Rarotonga in 1962, bringing with him a roll of velvet to use as canvas to start his art practice. Welland established a studio/gallery on the edge of Muri lagoon. His dusky Polynesian maidens had a major impact on the island and on many local artists (Fig.3). For a while, his art became the benchmark of 'good painting.' In the 1980s, his reproductions could be found in most government offices and elsewhere, e.g., of 'Ina and the Shark' on the Cook Islands $3 note. In 1963, Englishman Edwin Shorter arrived and established his studio/gallery in Betela, Arorangi, where over the next three decades he practised his art. Shorter's paintings are reminiscent of Gauguin's work. He painted romanticized images of village life, canoe-building, exotic maidens, bronzed navigators, and noble warriors (Fig.4). Local artists were quick to imitate the painting styles of Welland and Shorter.

Expatriate women artists arrived about 20 years later. Jillian Sobieska came from New Zealand in the early 1980s and, for a number of years, ran a studio in Avarua. Her main subjects were flowers, landscapes, and portraits. Her 'Mother Mary' hangs in the Catholic Cathedral in Avarua (Fig.5). Since 2000, Sobieska

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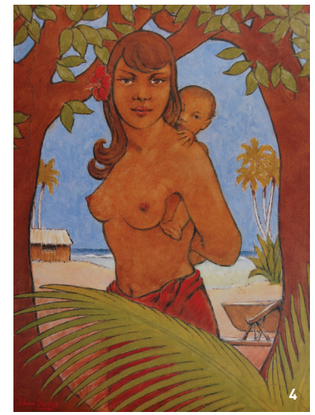

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FIGURE 2
Charles McPhee, Ikurangi. 1953. Oil on Board. Private collection (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 3
Rick Welland, Tereau. Oil on canvas. 2010. Private collection (photo: the artist).

FIGURE 4
Edwin Shorter, Young Motherhood. Limited Edition Print. 420 x 300mm. (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 5
Jillian Sobieska, Mother Mary. Oil on canvas. Catholic Cathedral, Avarua, Rarotonga (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

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has pulled away from exhibiting and selling her work on Rarotonga, in favour of the USA. Her new, illustrated book, *Pa and the Dolphins,* was published in 2011 (Sobieska 2011).

In 1984, Andrea Eimke and her husband emigrated from Germany to the Cook Islands and settled on the island of Atiu. Coming from a background of embroidery in Germany, Eimke's encounters with tapa (bark cloth) and tivaivai (quilts) provided a major turning point in her art. In 1986, she co-founded the Atiu Fibre Arts Studio and, since then, has curated textile and tivaivai exhibitions that have travelled to Europe and New Zealand. Over the years, she has moved from traditional tivaivai to contemporary tivaivai and installations (see Eimke, this volume and Figs. 6 and 7 above).

Originally from Switzerland, Judith Kunzlé arrived on Rarotonga in 1986. A graphic designer, trained at the School of Applied Arts in Berne, she was sent to Rarotonga by UNDP to work at the curriculum development unit of the Department of Education. She remained, making the island, until recently, her home. Kunzlé illustrated the majority of Cook Islands Māori storybooks published by New Zealand's Learning Media Ltd. She also illustrated extensively for Cook Islands Natural Heritage Project publications. Her own art has focused on the exploration of body language and movement in dance (Fig.8). "Movement has always fascinated me, and to try to draw it was a way to enjoy, prolong or re-experience the feeling of it . . . . I draw the gestures and moves of Cook Islands dancers that I can feel and relate to, not their exoticness" (Kunzlé 2009).

In 1988, New Zealand artist Kay George arrived with her partner, this author (see below). Kay painted on a variety of materials, which put her in the interesting position of being labelled both artist and textile artist (textile art having often been interpreted as craft). The Georges opened a small gallery called Pacific Art. Kay's artwork was influenced by the 1960s, which she describes as "a time of fun, excitement and a new era in art — pop art. I related to the work of Andy Warhol for the sheer simplicity of his screen-printed images of famous people, or simple concepts such as soup cans, screen-printed repeatedly in different colours" (Kay

FIGURES 6 & 7
Andrea Eimke, Third Space. 2010. Fabric, lace, tapa installation, Takamoa Mission House, Rarotonga. The artist suspended 24 panels of varying size and material composition (including lace and tapa), allowing viewers to enter and experience the space created. The panels later became part of the installation Third Space II (right) in the exhibition Love Lace at the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Australia, 2011-2013 (photo: the artist).

FIGURE 8
Judith Kunzlé. Detail from Drum Dance Sequence. 2008. Triptych Giclée print on canvas (photo: the artist).

FIGURE 9
Pauline Bewick. Utanga. 1990. Sketch (photo: the artist, 1996).

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George 2009, pers.comm.). The Georges moved back to New Zealand in 1995, but returned to Rarotonga in 2002 to open a new and larger gallery called The Art Studio. More recently, Kay's art has focused on the photography of women, digital manipulation, screen-printing onto board and canvas, and layering of paint and scratching back. She has moved some of her art to a new surface: vinyl (see Kay George, this volume).

The well-known Irish artist Pauline Bewick R.H.A. had a long-time dream to live on an unspoiled tropical island. In 1989, with a supply of sketchbooks, handmade paper, brushes, and watercolors, plus her two daughters, Bewick journeyed to the Cook Islands and chose Aitutaki as her unspoiled island. In 1991, after a short visit home, she returned to complete the draft of a book, *South Seas & a Box of Paints* (Bewick 1996). A major part of the book refers to her life on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, taking the form of a diary made of her drawings, paintings, and weekly notes (Fig.9). Her artwork after her Pacific sojourn became noticeably brighter and more vibrant. Bewick's style of painting was new to the Cook Islands and offered an alternative to the more graphic styles of Kunzlé, Shorter, and Welland.

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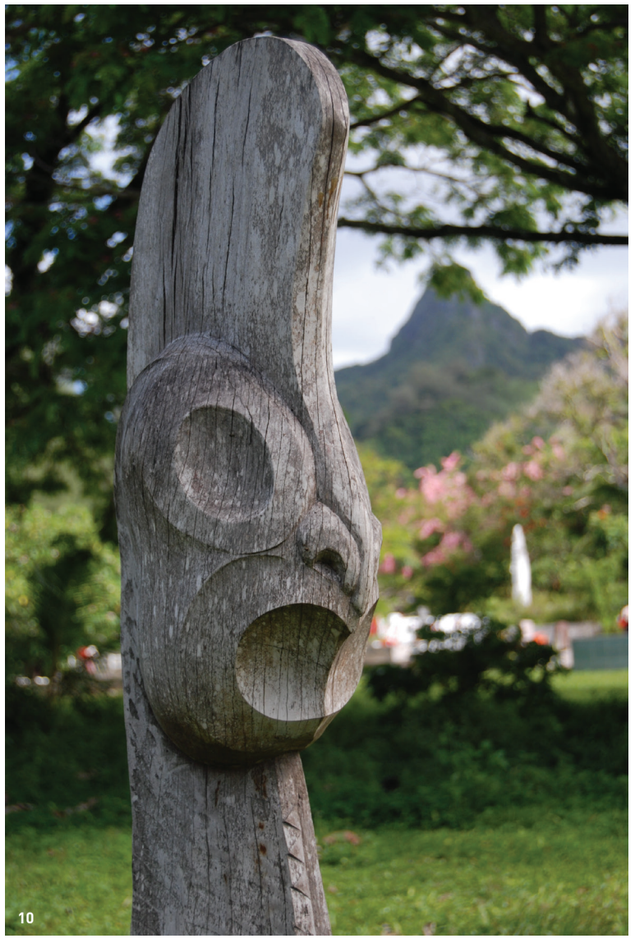
DEVELOPING COOK ISLANDS MĀORI ART

In 1965, Pomani Tangata graduated from Elam School of Fine Arts at the University of Auckland and became the first Cook Islands fine arts graduate. His work differed from the usual Pasifika art, which tended toward realistic rendering of tropical landscapes and flora and fauna. Instead, Tangata dealt with abstract and colour. His initial impact on the art scene was minor because of his move into politics and because his works were largely away from public view. A small number of friends bought his paintings, which sit in private collections in the Cook Islands and New Zealand. Only with the recent interest from New Zealand art collectors have Cook Islanders begun taking notice of his work (see Tangaroa this volume).

Specializing in film making, Eruera (Ted) Nia graduated in the early 1970s from Ilam School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury. He returned to the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Cook Islands in the late 1990s and has played a major role in the development of indigenous art in the Cook Islands. As a sculptor, he blends New Zealand Māori art with Cook Islands Māori art. His work is in the public arena and can be seen at the Rarotonga International Airport, Bank of the Cook Islands, and Cook Islands Trading Company. Nia has made greater use of electrical tools to achieve a finer finish, and he has incorporated materials such as pandanus, shell, and metal, into his artwork. He has encouraged Cook Islands carvers and sculptors to use a greater range of materials and techniques in their art.

The first steps towards creation of a Cook Islands arts community occurred in the 1980s. These included the launch of the 1984 Cook Islands Calendar. In black and white, the calendar included ink drawings and prints from five Cook Islands artists: Eruera Nia, Rennie Peyroux, Michael Tavioni, Wilkie Rasmussen, and Ngatupuna Teariki. No women artists were included although Joan Gragg was a practising artist at the time (see Gragg, this volume). The aim was to fund-raise for a Cook Islands National Art Gallery to be located at the old London Missionary Society Sunday School in Avarua. Instead, the land and building were leased to Joan and David Gragg who took the crumbling, roofless building, restored it, turned it into The Beachcomber, a boutique from which they sold black pearls,

FIGURE 10
Eruera Nia, Taputu. 2002. Wood. 1500 h x 280 w x 400 d mm, weight 57 kg. National Gallery of Australia. Purchased 2010. Accession No: NGA 2010.1183, © Eruera Nia (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURES 11 & 12
'Akatikitiki Group art exhibitions at a local school (above) and Arorangi prison (below), Rarotonga (photo: The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus Archive).

FIGURE 13
Ian George, Blue Totem. 2010. Wood. (photo: Kay George).

FIGURE 14
Tim Manavaroa Buchanan,Waiting for the Bus. 2006. Acrylic on board. Private collection (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

arts, and crafts. They also incorporated workshops for wood and shell carving and glass making. The building was later sold to Bergman & Sons, who expanded the gallery and courtyard and opened a café. Recently, Bergmans have closed the workshops and rebranded the existing gallery as Beachcomber Contemporary Arts (BCA), retaining the café and retail shops.

The mid-1980s saw the formation of a local arts collective known as the 'Akatikitiki Group, comprising artists Nga Teariki, Michael Tavioni, Rennie Peyroux, Joan Gragg and Wilkie Rasmussen. This group ran several workshops at the University of the South Pacific (USP) Cook Islands Centre and introduced Rarotonga to the concept of the art exhibition. The group held its first exhibition at the USP Centre, then transported it on the back of a truck to schools around the island and finally to the Arorangi prison (Figs. 11 and 12). The University subsequently funded workshop visits by Samoan artists Sua Ueligitone and Iosua Taofa. In 1984, USP hosted a workshop by Wallis Islander Aloi Pilioko and partner Russian Nicolai Michoutouchkine. Both workshops were well attended by the arts community. Thirty years on, the Rarotongan markets continue to sell locally produced Michoutouchkine-style shirts and pāreu (sarongs).

Cook Islander Ian George visited Rarotonga and Atiu for the first time in 1984. With his artist wife Kay, he returned in 1988, to set up the art department at Tereora College. His paintings and sculpture use Oceanic totems (Fig.13). He sometimes includes text to offer clues to viewers. Working within the Ministry of Education, he has been able to foster art in the national school curriculum. His contributions to the Rarotongan art scene have included the provision of a regional perspective and network connections to two major New Zealand arts organizations, Ngā Puna Waihanga and Tautai Contemporary Pacific Arts Trust.

In 1987, New Zealand–born Cook Islands artist Tim Manavaroa Buchanan returned to Rarotonga. From his home on Aitutaki, this self-taught artist uses stylized figures and vibrant colours to depict contemporary Cook Islands life (Fig.14). He is the past recipient of the BCI Artist in Residence award and in 2010 completed a major painting installation for the re-developed international terminal at Rarotonga International Airport.

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Rarotongan gallery owner, Ben Bergman, considers George and Buchanan, both active artists on the island from 1988 as "the first domiciled Cook Islands artists to acknowledge their pre-colonial heritage in an artistic form, draw inspiration from it and to seek and explore a modern identity from within it." (Bergman 2003:n.p.)

PARINGA ʻŌU
SOMETHING OLD SOMETHING NEW

A defining moment for contemporary Cook Islands arts occurred in 1998, when Johannah Wilson, an Australian curator with Australia Volunteers International attached to the Cook Islands National Museum, invited the author to curate a show of New Zealand–based Cook Islands artists. The show, called Paringa ʻŌu (Something Old, Something New), brought together 17 New Zealand–born and resident artists of Cook Islands origin (Fig.16). According to one of the show's artists, Mahiriki Tangaroa –

Paringa ʻŌu received a mixed response as the collection of works clearly expressed a distanced perception from the realities of art and culture in the Cook Islands. Many of the exhibiting artists had never been to Rarotonga or any of the other islands. The artists did not conform to tradition; rather, their works celebrated cultural origins and identity, salvaged from dialogue, memory, or brief encounters in the islands. One of the intentions of this show was to promote the view that painting did not necessarily have to conform to a landscape or a portrait for it to be worthy of appreciation. Visual representation could and did encompass a variety of elements, particularly the abstract — an interesting return to Polynesian concept and practice (2013:402).

After exhibiting on Rarotonga, the show travelled to Fiji and to Auckland's Fisher Gallery (Te Tuhi Gallery). Initial mixed reactions belied the lasting importance of the exhibition: critics often now cite the show as a reference point marking a change in the profile of contemporary visual arts in the Cook Islands, as well as lifting the profile of Cook Islands artists residing in New Zealand.

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FIGURE 15
Tim Manavaroa Buchanan, Players. Acrylic on board. Private collection (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 16
Paringa ʻŌu Exhibition, 1998 at the Cook Islands National Gallery.

From left works by: Richard Shortland Cooper, Sylvia Marsters (2), Jim Vivieaere, Hilda Ruaine, Michel Tuffery, Mii Quarter, and Nia Val Ngaro.

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Mahiriki Tangaroa is a New Zealand–born Cook Islander who graduated from Ilam School of Fine Arts, Canterbury University with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in photography. She returned to Rarotonga in 1998. Her photographic background is reflected in the introduction of a grid into her paintings. She plays with texture and form and utilizes Cook Islands and Pacific motifs of tattoo and carving (Fig. 17). In 2000, while employed as curator for the Cook Islands National Museum, Tangaroa worked to develop a relationship between the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development and Creative New Zealand. An outcome of this was the launch in 2001 of the Pacific Artist-in-Residence Programme hosted by the Ministry of Cultural Development (see Higgins 2012 and below).

In 1994, Ani O'Neill, another returned Cook Islander, graduated from Elam School of Fine Arts, with a Bachelors of Fine Arts majoring in sculpture. At an early age she had learned sewing and crocheting skills from her Cook Islands grandmother (Fig.18). Her inclusion, as a young graduate, in major New Zealand exhibitions — including The Nervous System (1995), Bottled Ocean (1995), the Second Asia Pacific Triennial (1996), the Biennale of Sydney (1998), and Telecom Prospect (2001) — confirmed her as a major new artistic talent. In 2010, O'Neill returned to Rarotonga to take up a position as one of the visual arts teachers in the art department at Tereora College, and her move to Rarotonga brought many of her artist friends to the island — adding to the growing dynamism of the visual arts on a small island.

Loretta Reynolds and her husband Chris moved from New Zealand to Rarotonga in 2000. The couple had been running a commercial graphics company for many years. Reynolds was a regular participant in the Creative New Zealand artist-in-residence workshops (see below) and according to Higgins "was encouraged to commit to full-time artistic practice after participating in [Fatu] Feu'u's workshops" (2012:128). Her unusual sgrafitto style of painting, using a bright palette, was new to the island and popular with local and visiting art buyers (Fig.19). Her move to her father's home island gave her the opportunity to develop her artwork. "Although I am a Cook Islands artist I would describe my work as Pacific Fusion; my contemporary translations of cultural icons and patterns are influenced by diverse styles and techniques from throughout the Pacific" (Reynolds 2009).

David Teata, a printmaker, born in Mangaia, graduated from Otago School of Fine Arts in Dunedin where he had been tutored by Marilyn Webb. He returned to Rarotonga in 2012 to build a home and studio/gallery. His artwork draws on the patterns and icons of his home island. His prints have a strong and bold presence, usually printed in black on tapa or heavily textured paper. Recently, Teata has used carved wood block in sculptural form, as in *Pi'a Atua* (Figs. 20 and 21).

In my work I draw on the traditional use of motifs and patterns as a means of communication, creating pictorial symbols to represent meaning. This gives a contemporary expression to the traditions of my culture. I always hope that my work will impart a sense of life, vision and strength to the viewer . . . . My work explores the inward journey, investigating the intersection of the spiritual and natural, old and new, past and present, values, hopes, ideas . . . culminating in a fusion of many elements to create a whole (Teata 2009).

Pi'a atua (literally god vessel) is the Mangaian term for a traditional priest. According to the artist, "Light emanates through the lens shaped hole, drawing the viewer in for a closer inspection. As they explore within, each person is confronted by the reflection of their own gaze causing questioning and curiosity. It becomes like a modern confession box."

FIGURE 17
Mahiriki Tangaroa, Wishes of Another Live On. 2013. Oil on canvas. 1200 x 1000 mm, Collection of the University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus (photo: the artist).

FIGURE 18
Ani O'Neill, Fresh 'Eke. 2003. Wool, re-cycled plastic bottles, gallery plinths. Installed at Waikato Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Waikato, Hamilton, NZ (2004). Collection of Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki (2009) (photo; Ani O'Neill).

FIGURE 19
Loretta Reynolds, Kimi'ia Enua. 2010. Wood, Perspex, Sennit and Metal. 2100 x 270 x 400mm (The Beachcomber Contemporary Arts collection) (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

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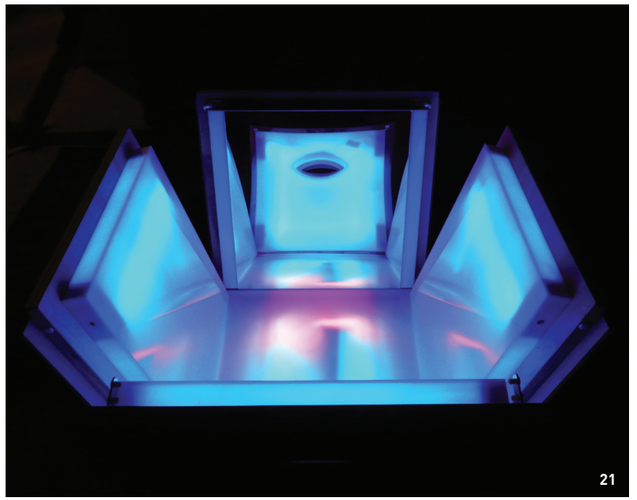

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In 2003, Te Ata ‘Ōu (From Darkness to Light) was the first major exhibition of contemporary Cook Islands art to travel — from Rarotonga to Christchurch — to be part of the Pacific Arts Association’s Seventh International Symposium. Some people saw this as the response to Paringa ‘Ōu. Paintings and sculptures came from seven artists: a mixture of emerging and established, male and female, and fine arts graduates and self-taught artists. The exhibition showed a sense of maturity and was well received by the symposium participants. Te Ata ‘Ōu was another sign of developing indigeneity: all the artists were Cook Islands Māori.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES’ ACTIONS AND IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY ARTS

In 1992, the Cook Islands government hosted the Sixth Festival of Pacific Arts, which had a major impact on the visual arts in Rarotonga. The local community was excited to see so many Oceanic people on their island, with mixtures of cultures, evident in personal adornment, both traditional and modern. Within the New Zealand contingent, a group of visual artists ran painting workshops and curated a contemporary New Zealand Pacific art show.

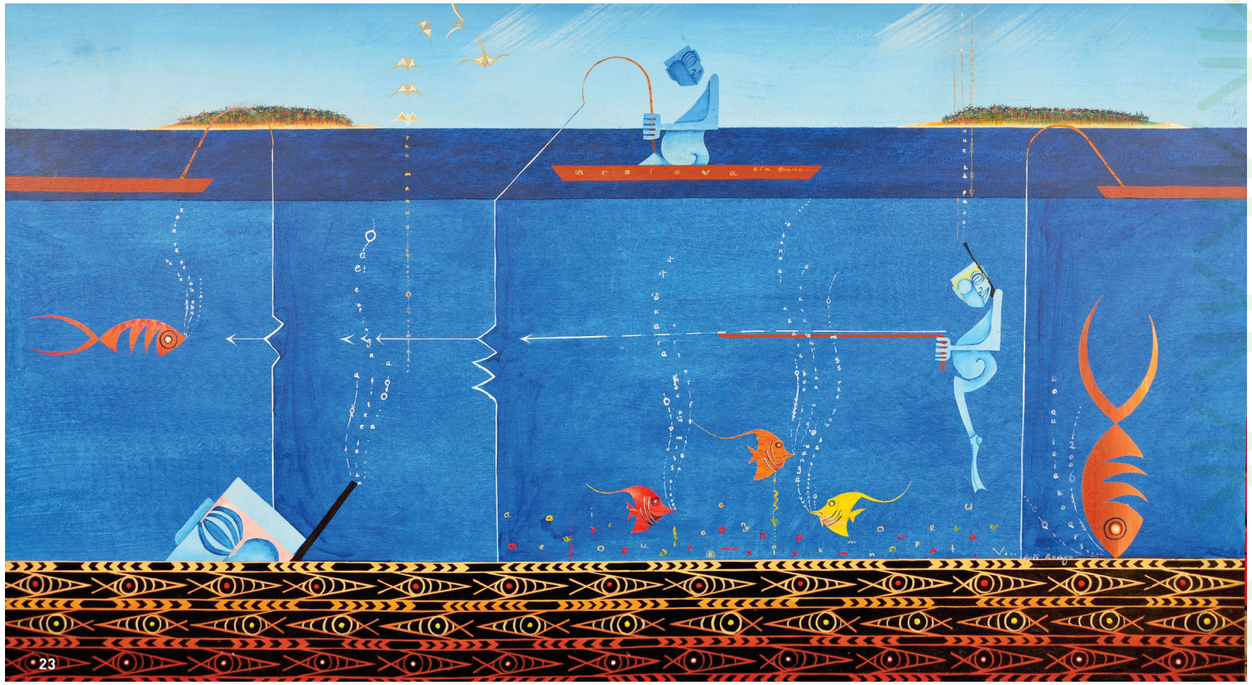
In the festival village, seven countries had their tattoo artists demonstrating to the public a diversity of techniques with traditional and modern instruments. This prolonged, public engagement with Polynesian tattoo became a catalyst for reviving Cook Islands tatau.

Utanga and Mangos have noted – “As profound as the advent of Christianity was on the demise of tā-tatau, so too was the festival in its revival. Cook Island tattoo enthusiasts today look back at the event as the catalyst that put tattooing back into mainstream consciousness” (2006:321).

Two decades later a large number of Cook Islanders, men and women, wear tattoos as identity symbols. Many paddlers use the annual Cook Islands Vaka Eiva Festival as an occasion to get inked. The arts festival also highlighted to

FIGURES 20 & 21
David Teata, Pia atua. 2008. Multimedia (plywood, hinges, carved mdf, ink, perspex, mirror, LED lights). 410x390x390mm. Private collection (photo: the artist).

FIGURE 22
Clive Nicholas from *Polynesia Tattoo*, Rarotonga (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).



the Ministry of Cultural Development the diversity of the arts and the need to broaden the Ministry's thinking beyond the performing arts.

The appointment of Mahiriki Tangaroa as curator of the Cook Islands National Museum helped continue the local development of the visual arts. Tangaroa focused on moving the museum towards becoming a contemporary arts centre. In 2001, the Cook Islands Ministry, prompted by Tangaroa, hosted the first Pacific Artist-in-Residence Programme, funded by Creative New Zealand. The programme funded a New Zealand–based Pacific artist to spend three months in the Cook Islands. This was to give the artist time to interact with the local community and to build a body of work inspired by the local people and environment. During the residency, the artist was required to present a lecture, an artists' workshop, and an exhibition. The residencies had a positive impact on the local visual arts scene, with several public workshops being held. Some of the workshops were the catalyst for emerging artists, such as Tereapii Rongo, whose paintings have a general theme of the lagoon and reef-fishing. His humour shows in his work, with the use of such objects as coke bottles, gumboots, and fishing rods. He makes heavy use of stenciling and Māori words (Fig.23).

PASIFIKA EXPATRIATE ARTISTS

In preparation for hosting the 1992 Festival of Pacific Arts, the Ministry of Cultural Development upgraded its headquarters. The new buildings house a large auditorium, museum, mezzanine, library, artist studio, archives, and

office space (Fig.24). With the large space, the ministry has been able to host contemporary shows, international artists, and workshops. Prior to 1992, the artists' workshops were held at the University of the South Pacific Campus and at times on the verandah of the Banana Court.

After 1992, through Creative New Zealand and the Cook Islands In-Country-Training Programme, many Pasifika artists came to Rarotonga and a smaller number went on to the outer islands. In-Country-Training brought John Pule, Michel Tuffery, and others who ran workshops for students and artists. Tuffery went to the islands of Atiu and Mangaia to demonstrate the art of block printing. This encouraged emerging artists and students to explore printing as an art form, and it was excellent for the marketplace because of the transportability of the prints.

Artists who came through the Creative New Zealand residency programme included Veronica Vaevae (new media), Fatu Feu'u (painting, printmaking, and sculpture), Sylvia Marsters (painting), Filipe Tohi (sculpture), Johnny Penisula (sculpture), and Nanette Lela'ulu (painting). Each artist brought individuality to

> *After 1992, through Creative New Zealand and the Cook Islands In-Country-Training Programme, many Pasifika artists came to Rarotonga and a smaller number went on to the outer islands.*

FIGURE 23
Tereapii Rongo, Araiava. 2009. Acrylic on canvas. 1030 x 1825mm. Collection of The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 24
The Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development complex, comprising the Cook Islands National Museum, National Library, National Auditorium and the office of the Ministry. The complex opened in 1992 to coincide with Cook Islands' hosting of the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 25
Marian File's art shop. One of many Rarotongan small art businesses (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

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the programme, passing on ideas and techniques that the local arts community discussed and picked up. Vaevae, the first artist-in-residence, used abstract moving images, a medium the local community found conceptually difficult. Young artist Varu Samuels added such techniques as stencilling and painting on hessian to his art practice as a result of Fatu Feu'u's workshops, which also introduced carved pearl shells tacked onto canvas (Fig.26). According to Higgins "Feu'u was . . . . inspired by local artist Varu Samuel, who carved mother-of-pearl shells for the tourist market. Each learned from the other. Feu'u learned to carve the fine shiny surfaces into abstract mask forms . . . . Samuel developed his painting skills and eventually added mother-of-pearl shells to his paintings as Feu'u had . . ." (2012:129).

Tongan sculptor Filipe Tohi facilitated workshops on Rarotonga and Mangaia, working with artists and students (Fig.27). His most noticeable legacy is an aluminum gateway at the USP Cook Islands Campus. Samoan sculptor Johnny Penisula, working in a variety of materials including wood and stone, facilitated workshops on Rarotonga and Mangaia. The outer island visit brought him face to face with old workmates from the freezing works in New Zealand who had retired and returned to their home island. Both Penisula and Tohi worked on refining the carvers' skills and introducing them to new equipment. Samoan painter Nanette Lela'ulu questioned the financial commitment of the Ministry of Cultural Development to the residency and met some of the costs herself. She studied Cook Islands figures and small landscapes and publicly exhibited her work-in-progress in a group show at The Art Studio.

An expatriate artist who is English but could fit in the Pasifika artists category is Croc Coulter. He is a tatau artist practising in the traditional Polynesian way, all his instruments are handmade, and each tatau session starts with a pe'e (chant). He has introduced many to the art of stretching as part of his practice. He was tutored by Inia Taylor and used to work at the Moko Ink studio in Auckland. He established his own studio, Croc Tatau, next to his home in Muri on Rarotonga. Croc spends three to four months each year in Europe working at ink festivals and the rest of the year on Rarotonga. He has tutored Cook Islands art students,

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as well as adult classes, in contemporary Pacific tatau designs. His presence on the island has enhanced the traditional practices of tatau. He also produces paintings on board and canvas of his tatau designs.

ARTS EDUCATION

Prior to the 1920s, Cook Islands schools had no uniform syllabus. The main focus was on reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, nature study, handicraft, health, singing, patriotism, citizenship, and moral and physical instruction. However, at Mangaia's school, John McGruther (Principal and colonial Resident Agent from 1923 to 1936) was influenced by Sir Apirana Ngata and the Māori School of Arts and Craft, to promote traditional art and craft in both the school and community (see Jeremy Treadwell, this volume).

In January 1925, during Sir Maui Pomare's period as Minister for Island Territories, the New Zealand Department of Education organized a conference to determine "a comprehensive and co-ordinated policy for the education of Natives in the South Seas Islands." It determined, inter alia, that–

"The possibility of broadening and intensifying interest in village life by means of manual training, drawing and design, music and games, should be recognized . . . . In the case of Polynesian children education is even more dependent on the handling of materials and the use of the constructive tendencies than is the case with European pupils. Further, if the valuable elements of Polynesian culture are to

FIGURE 26
Varu Samuel. Untitled. 2008. Acrylic and pearl shell on hessian. 600 x 1800 mm. Collection of The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 27
Participants in Filipe Tohi's sennit weaving or ka'a (lalava) workshop on Mangaia, 2004. This workshop, part of Tohi's Creative New Zealand Residency and funded by the University of the South Pacific, revived sennit lashing on the island (photo: Hilary Scothorn).

FIGURE 28
Croc Coulter in the garden of The Art Studio, Rarotonga (photo: Kay George).

> ***It was felt that encouraging basketry and native arts would inspire "pride of race" — the absence of which had been identified as holding back Māori development in both New Zealand and the Cook Islands.***

be preserved, the schools are in a strategic position, for the introduction of Native handicrafts into the schools will provide one of the best mediums for the development of the Polynesian intelligence. Equipment for woodwork has been supplied to most schools in the last few months. For some time the work will have to be carried out under difficulties — until the erection of workshops can be completed — but the enthusiasm of the teachers and the children suggests that very valuable results are likely to accrue from the close co-ordination of the school and the workshop" (AJHR 1926:8-9).

It was felt that encouraging basketry and native arts would inspire "pride of race" — the absence of which had been identified as holding back Māori development in both New Zealand and the Cook Islands. However, as Gilson noted, "Instruction in local arts, crafts, dances, legends, history and geography was to have been given but, at best local legends were referred to only occasionally and classes in basket and mat weaving did not follow traditional patterns" (1991:177).

Post-primary schooling began in the Cook Islands in 1949, and art became a permanent part of the secondary curriculum. At the time, the distinguished New Zealand Art Educationalist Gordon Tovey (1901–1974) was on Rarotonga, compiling material for his book *Art and Craft for the South Pacific*. In April 1950, Tovey organized an art teachers' refresher course at Avarua School, which became the impetus for launching art teaching into the primary and secondary schools.

In the early 1950s, some Māori crafts were incorporated into the teaching of art. A report by Pomani Tangata indicated that the usual problem of assessment between art and craft was yet to be resolved. "The co-relation of art with craft of course presented the problem of evaluating the quality of an art work and the quality of a craft" (n.d.:6).

In 1951, Tovey recommended sending two Cook Islands primary teachers to New Zealand for one year to be trained as art specialists. Their input into the primary schools a year later was very noticeable and the teaching of art improved generally. At the secondary schools, however, instruction continued to be by unqualified teachers.

In 1972, Henry Nicholas, Organizing Teacher for Arts and Crafts, put together *A Scheme of Work in Art and Crafts for the Primary Schools in the Cook Islands*. This was the first attempt at a Cook Islands plan and looked at the stages of visual self-expression, classroom organization, and art activities. This booklet can still be found in classrooms today.

In 1989 Cook Islands education consultant David Lewis observed, "Many of our children are extremely gifted artists, composers, dancers, singers, writers, musicians, designers, and sculptors . . . . Our education system almost totally ignores that wealth of creativity . . . . we propose fully operating schools of creative arts and sports" (1989:217). In that year, Tereora College offered visual arts as an option with the establishment of a one-teacher art department. Today, the department has two teachers and caters for students from years 9 to 13.

In 2003, a Cook Islands Visual Arts Curriculum, written by this author, was introduced into the schools. It catered for years 1 to 10; at year 11, the students switch to the New Zealand Curriculum and the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). The Cook Islands Visual Arts Curriculum encourages students/teachers to explore their immediate environment, its local stories, local characters, traditional arts and crafts, and to look at these in context of the global community. From years 1 to 10, the students are introduced to an arts vocabulary that includes Cook Islands Māori words. They are also introduced to Cook Islands

artists as well as New Zealand artists as knowledge of the latter is necessary for years 11, 12, and 13. The curriculum aims to broaden the students' awareness of, and participation in, the visual arts. Finally, it aims to recognize the Cook Islands as part of the Pacific region, its relationship with New Zealand and Australia, and the global community's acknowledgement of the diversity of visual art forms.

From 2005 to 2011, this author tutored art education papers at first and second year degree level for primary teachers enrolled in the USP Bachelor of Education programme. Over 120 teachers completed the papers which aimed to give teachers confidence in exploring a range of media with their students, and to focus on the indigenous and regional arts and crafts. In 2012, seven Cook Islands artists earned Masters of Art and Design through AUT University (Fig.29). Chapters based on some of their exegeses appear in this volume.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

For the size of its population, Rarotonga has artists and galleries equal proportionately to any of the major cities in the world. This is the result of a number of factors: the movement of artists regionally and globally, the return of artists of Cook Islands descent in search of indigenous identity, the growth of art as part of the secondary curriculum, access to digital media, and tourism, which brings many visitors to purchase souvenirs and elevates the standard of living such that Cook Islanders themselves can foster and purchase art.

Today, the Cook Islands art scene is healthy and vibrant, with more artists and their families returning from overseas. In future, more Cook Islanders and expatriates will opt for lifestyles that encourage creativity and are attainable in a small community. The Cook Islands will continue to develop as a hub for contemporary Pacific art. It will encourage ongoing exchange of art and ideas regionally and globally. A Cook Islands contemporary art style will continue to evolve. Personal adornment with ink and colorful garments, as well as creative publications, will help develop new symbols of the Cook Islands dynamic identity.

FIGURE 29
Cook Islands artists enrolled in the AUT University Masters of Art and Design:– (front L-R) Eruera Nia, Loretta Reynolds, Ani O'Neill, Kay George, Krick Barraud, and Joan Gragg; (back L-R) Andrea Eimke, Mike Tavioni, Dale Fitchett (AUT), David Teata, Natalie Robertson (AUT), and Te Aturangi Nepia-Clamp (photo: Cook Islands News).

For the size of its population, Rarotonga has artists and galleries equal proportionately to any of the major cities in the world.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ian George is a New Zealand–born Cook Islands artist of Rarotonga and Atiu descent. He moved with his partner, artist Kay George, to Rarotonga in 1988. Ian George established the art department at Tereora College. He is the manager for Learner Support and Visual Arts Adviser for the Ministry of Education. As an artist, George explores totems that draw on oceanic elements and often appear as shamanic figures in his artwork. He adds text to help viewers unravel the narrative.

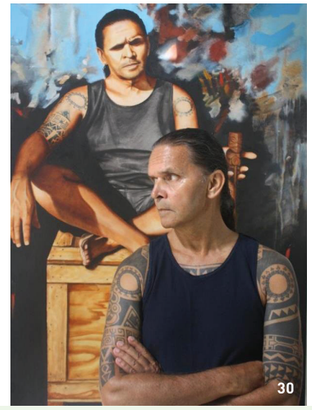

FIGURE 30
Ian George before his portrait.

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GLOSSARY

kaʻa	sennit weaving or lashing
lalava	sennit weaving or lashing (Tongan)
pāreu	sarong
peʻe	chant
tapa	bark cloth
tatau	tattoo
tivaivai	quilt

Chapter Twelve

PAUL POMANI TANGATA
A PASIFIKA ARTIST AHEAD OF HIS TIME

Mahiriki Tangaroa

1

> ***Tangata says there wasn't the same awareness of being a Pacific Islander as might be evident today because there were so few around.***
>
> ***(Gifford 2012).***

The Cook Islands' painter Paul Pomani Tangata was born on 18 June 1941 on Atiu Island. His parents were Tangata and Tuua Aukino. His father took up posts on various islands in his role as an orometua (minister) in the Cook Islands Christian Church.

In the 1950s, as New Zealand encouraged immigration by Pacific Islanders to fill the expanding need for factory labour, Pomani's family migrated to New Zealand's North Island. There, his father found work first at a Rotorua sawmill and later in the tannery at Hellaby's Auckland meatworks. Pomani attended Seddon Memorial Technical College[1] in Auckland. A classmate Alan McGuiness recalls 'Paul' was one of a very few Pacific Islanders in the school system.

I distinctly remember him as being very quiet, soft-spoken, thoughtful, and it sticks in my mind that he had excellent diction. Unlike the rest of us, he did not say a lot, and in thinking back, he was probably smarter than most of us!! The W4 lads of 1958 were divided into three groups, with "A" being the brightest of the lot. Bi-annual report cards indicated our standing in each subject and overall, and Pomani was always near the top. Our home room teacher in 1958 was Mr. Olsen, (shown in the photo [Fig.1, standing, extreme left]), a strict disciplinarian, and a crack shot with a blackboard eraser. Paul was one of his "go-to" students, when he was looking for an answer to a science or mathematics question (Alan McGuiness, pers. comm., Mar 2015).

According to Adam Gifford, who interviewed Tangata in 2012, -

Tangata's art teacher at Seddon Technical College was [also] struck by his talent and convinced him to enrol at the [Elam] school of fine arts across the road [at Auckland University]. "I never looked back."

Not that it was easy. The expressive, painterly style he developed was at odds with Elam's then-orthodox highly ordered, flat compositions. It's not a great leap from Lois White to his classmate Don Binney, but Tangata's paintings stand apart.

"You've got to move out of that cocoon. That's why I moved my studio to Freemans Bay [while still studying]. I felt much better and I was exhibiting as well," he says.

Tangata says there wasn't the same awareness of being a Pacific Islander as might be evident today because there were so few around.

"The only darkies I was with there were Elizabeth Mountain who was married to Robert Ellis, and Mere Harrison from Ngati Porou. We used to get together sometimes. It helped."

It was at Elam that the only son of a preacher got his start in politics, serving as president of the Elam students' association and on the main student union. "That was my first foray into politics, along with Winston Peters from the law faculty" (Gifford 2012).

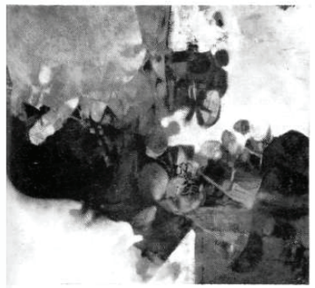
Tangata studied at the Elam School from 1961 to 1964 before completing an Honours in Fine Arts year in 1965. According to Jonathan Mane-Wheoki,

Even before he had finished his studies, he was exhibiting in dealer galleries-a solo exhibition at the Uptown Gallery in October 1964, and at the Barry Lett Galleries in August 1965 in tandem with Colin McCahon. Two of his paintings 'East Coast and West Coast', and 'Beach on Both Sides', both oil-on-hardboard, were included in the Auckland City's Art Gallery Annual Anthology Exhibition of Contemporary New Zealand Painting in 1965 [Fig.2]. Two of Paul Tangata's paintings were acquired by the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1965, 'Beach on Both Sides' and 'Landscape', a gouache and pastel drawing. Presumably the 23 year-old artist was thought to be a talent to be watched out for. But he went teaching, disappeared off the radar, and never came to be written into the history of New Zealand art (Mane-Wheoki 2006).

Before "disappearing into teaching" Pomani won a scholarship to the East-West Center in Honolulu, and although it "seems to have left him less than impressed with the American education system" (Gifford 2012), he graduated with a Masters of Fine Arts in 1967. He returned to New Zealand to complete a teaching diploma.

"Art for art's sake does not work. You've got to get your supplies and pay the rent on your flat. When I was at varsity, at Christmas I would go to the meat works and work like mad, it was good money, or go down the wharf, anywhere you could sneak a job.

"Getting a scholarship for teaching, that was the easy way out. I didn't want to be a teacher but I ended up being one."



Paul Tangata

Born Atiu, Cook Islands 1942. Studied Elam School of Fine Art, Auckland 1961-64. Honours year in Painting 1965.
Exhibited: Contemporary N.Z. Painting, A.C.A.G. 1964. One-man Exhibitions: Uptown Gallery, Auckland 1964; Barry Lett Galleries, Auckland 1965.
Lives in Auckland.

46 EAST COAST AND WEST COAST
oil on hardboard 29x33

47 BEACH ON BOTH SIDES
oil on hardboard 46x36

46

2

[1] *Auckland Technical School was founded in 1895, became Auckland Technical College in 1906 and was renamed Seddon Memorial Technical College in 1913. As New Zealand separated technical and secondary education in the 1960s, the technical facilities became Auckland Technical Institute (ATI) in 1963 and secondary personnel formed Seddon High School in Western Springs, Auckland in 1964. ATI became Auckland Institute of Technology (AIT) in 1989, and Auckland University of Technology or AUT University in 2000.*

FIGURE 1
Pomani Tangata, front row far right, with class members of W4A, Seddon Memorial Technical College. Alan McGuiness is the back row, second from the left (photo: Alan McGuiness).

FIGURE 2
Catalogue entry from 1965 New Zealand Artists, Auckland Art Gallery, Wakefield Press with a black and white image of the painting East Coast and West Coast.

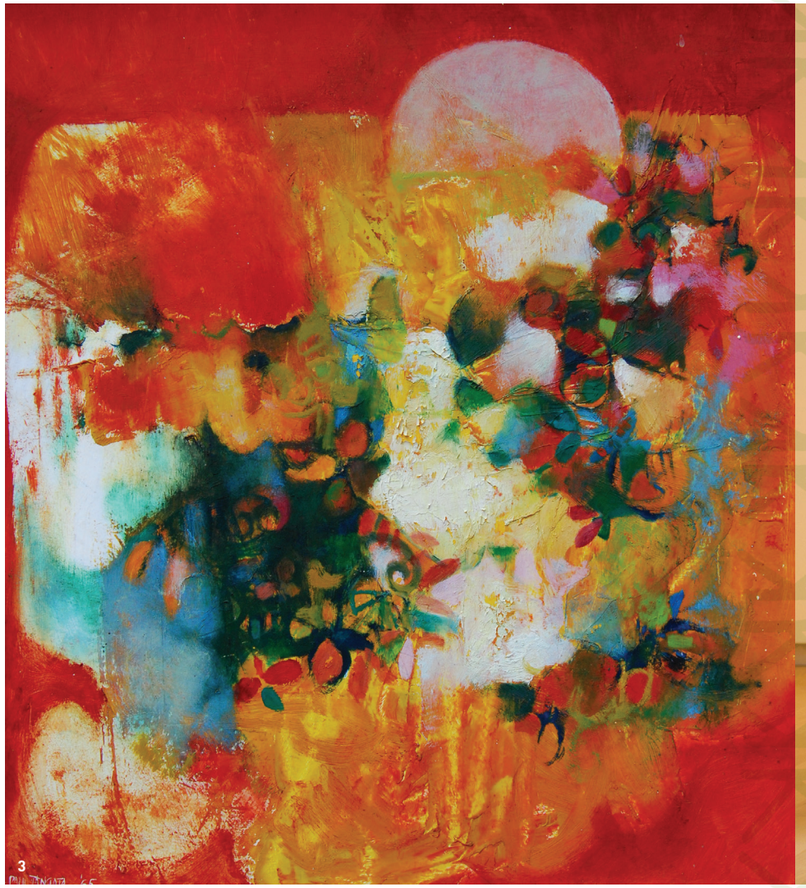


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FIGURE 3
Pomani Tangata, Moonrise, mixed media on canvas, 1965, private collection, Cook Islands (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

FIGURE 4
Paul Pomani Tangata seated before his paintings: (left) Beach on Both Sides and (right) Landscape, in the 'Home AKL' Exhibition, Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, 2012 (photo: Steven McNicholl, NZH-1064849 Newspix.co.nz). "Where you see a huge splash of red clay for instance, like the one in the gallery, that to me is where my roots come from, the red clay all over Atiu, all over Polynesia."

FIGURE 5
Pomani Tangata, View of Atiu Valley, mixed media on paper. 1965. Private collection, Cook Islands (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa). "My father had Tahitian roots and my mother was Atiuan, so I feel it is more the Tahitian connection, those lush green beautiful colours . . ."

His teaching career included a year back in Rarotonga and a spell in the new Auckland Technical Institute, housed in his old school. He also had exhibitions, which his relatives knew nothing of. "I wasn't part of their world. I made a point of it. It was hard enough to do art" (Gifford 2012).

Pomani's abstract expressionist style combined bright colours, buoyant movement, and bold textures. He was among the first of modern Pacific artists to experiment in abstract art (Tangaroa 2010), but his Polynesian upbringing and frame of mind strongly informed his painting.

"My father had Tahitian roots and my mother was Atiuan, so I feel it is more the Tahitian connection, those lush green beautiful colours, as Paul Gauguin brought out in his works [even though he never finished the job]," Tangata says.

I put to him that one of the works reminds me of the American abstract expressionist Joan Mitchell, with violent brush strokes and bright colours that create a pictorial surface charged with energy.

"Fundamentally my paintings are energised, but where you see a huge splash of red clay for instance, like the one in the gallery, that to me is where my roots come from, the red clay all over Atiu, all over Polynesia.

"On top of that clay is the vegetation, the frangipani, the plumeria and the beauty thereof" (Gifford 2012).

5

In 1968 Tangata was approached to stand for his home island of Atiu in the second election following Cook Islands self-government.

He accepted the call to politics and put a comma, "not a full stop," under his art career.

"I didn't want to mix my art with my politics. Art for art's sake yes, but you have to remember it is also personal, private, otherwise you can't evoke what is truly you the artist. I always have been personal with my paintings. That's why I disappear and do things on my own."

When Tom Davis returned from the United States in 1971 to form the Democratic Party, Tangata joined up. He says that though Davis, a former NASA scientist, may have been a brilliant scientist, he was not a good politician (Gifford 2012).

Professor Ron Crocombe wrote, *"Mr Pomani Tangata challenged his [Davis's] leadership. Mr Tangata was a dynamic, attractive personality given to flashes of brilliance, but his challenge was not successful . . ." (1979:4).* Eventually, Pomani went to work in government rather than politics, and ended up as secretary to Cabinet before retiring and returning to Auckland (Gifford 2012).

6

7

FIGURE 6
Pomani Tangata, Red Sky. 1964. Pastel and watercolour on paper. 490mm x 370mm. Private collection.

FIGURE 7
Pomani Tangata, Untitled. 1964. Acrylic on hardboard. 785mm x 615mm Signed with small typed biographical note (photo: Grant Wilson, Bright Life Gallery).

> ***He will be remembered for his magnificent art and his aro'a (love).***

CONCLUSION

Years would pass before indigenous Pacific artists began to gain fame in New Zealand. In 1990 the first Pacific art and Taonga exhibition 'Te Moemoea No Iotefa' (Dream of Joseph) was held at the Sarjeant Gallery in Wanganui. This was followed by the groundbreaking travelling exhibition 'Bottled Ocean' curated by the late Jim Vivieaere in 1994.

In 2010, Tauranga Vananga, the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development featured for the first time Pomani's work alongside other local artists in the exhibition called '50 Years of Painting in the Cook Islands.' This was hosted at the Cook Islands National Museum. In 2012, curator Ron Brownson, who has championed Tangata's work, celebrated his work in the exhibition 'Home AKL' at the Auckland Art Gallery.

Time took its toll.

His physical movements are constrained by damage to his legs from being poisoned by tainted fish from Rarotonga — the same thing he says that killed Davis — but the itch to paint is still there. "I'm ready to go."

In his final years Tangata lived what he called a "subterranean" existence in his family house in Grey Lynn (Gifford 2012).

Just as Pomani's work remains to be written into New Zealand's history of art, it remains to be appreciated here in the Cook Islands. Pomani's art was a radical departure from what other Pacific painters were producing at that time–compare his work in 1965 to that of Rick Welland and Edwin Shorter in the following decade (see Ian George, this volume).

In 1965, he was exhibiting with the emerging New Zealand mainstream (Colin McCahon, Ralph Hotere, etc). He was a Pacific talent "to be watched out for" well before Pasifika became a recognized category of art. In terms of Pacific modernism, he was one of the founding tupuna (ancestors) creating work well ahead of its time. It is forever unfortunate that when he returned to serve out his time in the Cook Islands, his stunning work was put on hold, indefinitely.

Pomani Tangata passed away on 7 June 2014. He will be remembered for his magnificent art and his aro'a (love).

8

FIGURE 8
Pomani Tangata standing before the home in Grey Lynn that he and his wife Teremoana Turua shared for 20 years, the same home that his parents had purchased in 1957 (photo: Ron Brownson).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the following for their permission to use some of Tangata's words, images and works– Mr Alan McGuiness of southern Oregon, USA for permission to use the image in Figure 1; Mr Iaveta Short of Takitumu, Rarotonga for the images in Figures 3 and 5; Mr Adam Gifford, *New Zealand Herald*, for permission to reprint sections of his newspaper interview with Pomani Tangata from July 2012; Mr Ron Brownson of Auckland City Art Gallery for kind permission to use his portrait of Pomani Tangata in Figure 8; and Mr Grant Wilson of Bright-Life Gallery, Auckland, who generously gave permission to reproduce the image in Figure 7. We have been unable to identify the copyright holders of the image in Figure 6 and invite them to contact us for acknowledgement.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mahiriki Tangaroa is a Cook Islands painter and writer.

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GLOSSARY

aro'a	love
tupuna	ancestor

Section Four

WEAVING

Manihiki bride – in Gill, William Wyatt. 1876. *Life in the Southern Isles*. London: Religious Tract Society. p.133.

Chapter Thirteen

WARPS AND WEFTS OF LIFE
RARANGA IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE COOK ISLANDS

Jean Tekura Mason

‘Iri‘iri ia mai koe.”

Mauke tumu kōrero (cultural expert) Tengaru Lazaro Tobia, also known as Papa Tete (1914-1997), issued this Mauke challenge at a conference on Rarotonga in 1990. Literally, it means “Decorate yourself.” The full meaning of this quote is “Who are you? Tell me where you are from and to whom you are related. What are your connections? For it is those connections which will determine your status, strength and what, if any, connection you have to me.”

The challenge above illustrates perfectly the importance of relationships in Māori culture. A man by himself is weak, whereas a group of people can achieve more and quickly by working together. In Māori culture, it is better to be part of the group than to be alone. So it is in weaving, a fibre strand by itself is useless but many strands woven together give strength to an article. Further, when used as gifts, these useful articles can also unify and strengthen the bonds of human relationships in a community.

The word raranga comes from the proto-Polynesian laga, meaning to braid, weave, plait. Despite common and widespread activity, a dearth of research about raranga in the Cook Islands suggests lack of interest by researchers, either due to the low value given raranga as a mainly women’s art or to the ordinary aspects of mainly utilitarian products. Some people have difficulty seeing traditional arts and crafts in the same category as “true art” because traditional artists, unlike professional artists, do not get formal qualifications or acquire their training formally in institutions. Some people do not recognize the individuality of traditional artists, attributing to them instead an unthinking adherence to a formula passed down by one generation to another. However, even art called ‘traditional’ is able through artists’ creativity to metamorphose.

Another limiting factor may be the dearth of historical material available to study. Early Cook Islands Māori people inhabited islands abundant in natural, but not always durable, material. Little survives from pre-European times except for items in overseas museums, and we must largely rely on oral traditions and foreigners’ descriptions to determine what has changed in the art of raranga over time.

“Weaving from indigenous plant materials differs from textile weaving: materials vary in stiffness and elasticity and the strands are bigger, in contrast to the limp fibres and threads from which cloth and rugs are made.”

Cook Islanders use the term ‘weaving’ rather than plaiting to describe this activity. They do not use looms. Weaving from indigenous plant materials differs from textile weaving: materials vary in stiffness and elasticity and the strands are bigger, in contrast to the limp fibres and threads from which cloth and rugs are made.

From earliest times, all raranga has been based on a system of firmly placing a series of parallel threads (the warp) and then passing loose threads (the weft) over and under the stretched threads at right angles. The process of weaving entails creating a horizontal opening in the warp, when a number of warp ends are raised. This forms a passageway for the weft to be threaded through. The weft is then flattened into place. This gives the product strength and shape.

Traditionally, weaving was associated with all aspects of life in the Cook Islands, including: ‘akatu ‘are (house construction); ‘ārikiʻtaʻua and tapakau (house contents); moenga and kakaʻu moe (bedding); kakaʻu (personal clothing); rākei ‘akaūruūruʻanga (ceremonial costumes); vairanga kai (containers for food preparation); ‘ānauʻanga (birth); pāpetītoʻanga (baptisms); pākoti rouru (hair cutting); ‘akaīpoīpo (marriage); tanuʻanga mate (funerals); ‘akaūruūruʻanga ariki (chiefly investitures); and pākau aroʻa, oʻora, akakoʻu and ‘akapāreuʻanga (gift presentations) at ‘ārikiʻanga (receptions). Many of these activities are closely associated with ‘ārikiʻanga, a word whose wide meaning includes welcoming, accepting, holding a reception, and covering a table with a tablecloth.

Cook Islands folklore and historical literature have many references to woven articles, sometimes mentioned by name or implied in the telling of a story. However, there is a near absence of legends where a woven item is at the centre of the story, possibly reflecting the utilitarian aspect of raranga products and their ‘lower status’ as mainly “women’s work” alluded to above.

WEAVING IN LEGENDS

An heroic-ancestor figure of *Atiu*, Mariri-tutu-a-manu, flew back to the ancestral homeland of Avaiki to fetch his wife whom he had left behind when he went to settle on Atiu. He built wings using tutu wood (*Colubrina asiatica*) for the frame

FIGURE 1
A group of women making a family sized sleeping mat in Rarotonga in the early twentieth century. Today, the reduced size of woven articles, particularly mats, symbolizes growing individualism and decline of the collective (photo: Rod Dixon Collection).

and *wove* feathers into it. After many trials with the wings, he was successful in bringing his wife to Atiu.

A *Mangaian* myth tells of the god Tane who, while on an island called Enuakura, married Ina. Ina was a jealous woman, and the couple quarrelled often. Eventually, Tane longed to escape his wife's waspish tongue and return to his home, Avaiki. So he climbed a coconut tree and picked two fronds which he *wove into two clam-shaped baskets,* i.e., without an opening. Fastening one basket to each arm, he used them to fly back to his homeland (W.W. Gill 1876:113).

The god Tane and fairies used magic *kikau baskets* to take soil from Atiu and Mauke, with the aid of two supernatural ironwood trees, to create *Mitiaro* (Kloosterman 1976:27).

Ngarikikura and Tiatamatua were two sorcerers from *Manihiki.* Tiatamatua had a reputation for murder by putting evil spirits in a person's food. One day he invited Ngarikikura to share a meal with him. Ngarikikura was suspicious, but he accepted the invitation. Ngarikikura's magic was more powerful than that of Tiatamatua, and he was able to detect and neutralize the evil spirits in his food before he ate it. As Ngarikikura was about to leave, he grabbed hold of Tiatamatua's soul in a special *soul-trapping basket*, paddled his canoe out to sea, and drowned Tiatamatua's soul. Thus, Tiatamatua died in his sleep that night (Kauraka 1982:50).

Not long before the arrival of Christianity, Atiu warriors had invaded *Mauke* hoping to take advantage of the civil war raging between two of the leading tribes. Akaroto, a wife and mother, hid her son, Tau'u-o-te-rangi, under a pile of tāpoki (leaves *woven* as a covering for an umu or ground oven) to save his life. She distracted the Atiu warriors that had been in pursuit and ran in the opposite direction from her son's location. Unable to out-run the warriors, she was caught and killed, but her son remained hidden. Since that time, each generation gives the name Tāpoki to descendants of Akaroto in remembrance of her great sacrifice (Rongo 2008:12).

On *Rarotonga,* the first owner of the famed vaka taurua (voyaging canoe) Takitumu was Atonga. His son, Te Arutanga-nuku, sent his wife with a tāpora (a type of basket *woven* from coconut leaves) full of mashed taro (mashed three times) to seduce Atonga and gain the vaka. She was successful (Terei & Savage 1908: unpublished English translation of the Māori original).

Traditionally, Cook Islanders slept on moenga (*woven* sleeping mats) not beds. Ruananga, who was a guest of Makea Te Ratu at Marae Avarua, slept with Arapau, the wife of Makea Te Ratu. Makea saw the hair tie of Ruananga on their moenga. Five months later Makea divorced her in style: he summoned all of his tribe together to prepare enough food for a feast, then he took the food in many āpuka (disposable baskets made of *woven* coconut fronds) and his wife to Ruananga, and gave his wife to Ruananga (Terei & Savage 1908: unpublished English translation of the Māori original).

When Iro-nui-ma-oata, a supernatural heroic figure of Rarotonga, met his elderly grandfather, Ngana, and great-uncle, Vaea, for the first time, he eavesdropped and heard them chanting for things they desired. Iro-nui promised to get these things for them, one of which was oraua *mats.* They chanted thus:

"... Oh could we but get these things
We could spread out our gay bordered sleeping mats
Then roll up in our oraua mats
And lie and sleep in content..." (Savage 1917:12).

2

After Terei, a son of Tangiia, arrived in Rarotonga from Mangaia, he built a marae (outdoor temple), which he called Are Ra, to commemorate the time immediately after his arrival on Rarotonga when he used his canoe *sails* as a temporary shelter for himself and his followers. The word ra (which also means sun) is an old word for kie (sail). The overlap in meaning might be because the first part of a vaka to be seen from land as it rises over the horizon is the sail – like the sun rising (Terei and Savage 1908: unpublished English translation of the Māori original).

Men of renown often gave personal names to their personal items. The *fan* named Te-matangi-tere-kura belonged to Moe-tara-uri, a chief of Vava'u (Huahine Island in present-day French Polynesia). He and Akimano of Rarotonga had a son called Iro-nui-ma-oata, an ancestral figure of Rarotonga. As Akimano was married to someone else, Moe-tara-uri had to leave Rarotonga before her husband returned from overseas. Moe-tara-uri left a cache of gifts for his son, including the *fan* called Te matangi-tere-kura, a sacred mantle called Au-ma-tuanaki, a sacred *maro* (loin-cloth) called Pu-iri-ma-ea-ea, and a spear (Terei and Savage 1908: unpublished English translation of the Māori original).

According to oral tradition, Makea Arera had a *mat* called Te-i-tangaroa, also called Mangō Nui (Makiuti Tongia, pers. comm., Oct 2012). These are also the names by which the Milky Way is known.

RAW MATERIALS

Kikau (coconut palm leaves)

Aetiological myths from Atiu and Mangaia explain the origin of the coconut tree *(Cocos nucifera).* Ina's lover, an eel, is killed by her brothers. She buries his head in the ground and later a strange tree emerges from the site. This is the coconut tree. From this tree come materials used to thatch house roofs and make mats, baskets, children's toys, and hats.

The coconut tree has been dubbed the "tree of life" because just about every part of it, in every stage of development, can be used. It provides not only food and drink, but also shelter, medicine, cordage, oil, and timber. Coconut husk rope (sennit) is favoured by Polynesians as a self-caulking rope for tying canoe parts together because it swells in water.

Rito, as it is known in the northern Cook Islands, and kikau, as it is known in the southern Cook Islands, is processed young, coconut leaves, used for making

FIGURE 2
Rito hats, made for Mary Trenn's children in Manihiki, 60 years ago, in the style of American sailor's hats of the period. Gift to the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society from Dolly Baker's estate, Rarotonga (photo: Jean Mason).

> ***According to a Mangaian myth, Koro, a son of Tinirau, brought pandanus for the first time and planted it close to the beach at a place called Akatangi (The calling place) where, at night, he frequently summoned fish from the sea to dance with him***
> ***(W.W. Gill 1876:103).***

fans, hats and purses. According to Buck, who visited Manihiki and Rakahanga in 1929, the use of rito had begun not long before his arrival there, ". . . stimulated by the fashion of making hats of the Panama type" (Buck 1932:131). From then on, the preferred fibre for hats on these two atolls has been rito rather than rau'ara (pandanus).

Men and boys collect immature leaves from the top centre of coconut trees, taking one spathe at a time. There are usually two, but removing both would weaken and kill the tree. Women strip the immature leaves of their midribs, then remove them from the frond while tied by their ends. The outer layer of each leaf is then scraped off. The tied leaves are boiled, scraped again, then draped over a clothesline to dry. Fibre strands are brushed during the drying process to keep them straight. The process can take two to three days. Sometimes women dye the rito, using ash (mixed with water), other traditional dyes (mentioned below), or carbon paper (soaked in water). More commonly now, women use synthetic dyes. Dyeing takes place when the fibres are dry.

Kikau mata (green kikau or coconut palm leaves) are usually freshly cut from mature green (not brown or dry) fronds on the day required and woven for taputu 'are (roofing); rangakau (wall screens); tapakau (ordinary sitting mats); raurau (disposable plates); pare ukarau (sun hats); pare taumata (sun visors); āpuka, tāpora, and rangokere (food-carrying baskets); oringi, o'ini, and po'ini (fishing baskets); and such children's toys as eyeglasses, balls, headbands, rings, bracelets, hanging ornaments, etc.

Pandanus

According to a Mangaian myth, Koro, a son of Tinirau, brought pandanus for the first time and planted it close to the beach at a place called Akatangi (The calling place) where, at night, he frequently summoned fish from the sea to dance with him (W.W. Gill 1876:103).

The Cook Islands has a variety of pandanus, including a dwarf variety cultivated as an ornamental plant; a small variety native to Mauke and Atiu which is ". . . ecologically distinct, growing inland on the makatea. . ." (Walls 1986:13); and two variegated varieties, which are considered useless for weaving. Other varieties are grown for their edible or fragrant fruit. Cook Islanders use three varieties for weaving. Rau'ara tai (*Pandanus tectorius*) grows wild and is used mainly for mats and house building. This thorny pandanus is a little harder to prepare as it needs to be singed on a fire first before placing in the sun to dry further. A sterile, thornless rau'ara (*Pandanus spurius,* called rau'ara paeōre in Tongareva) is valued for its high-quality weaving and is commonly used. 'Ara 'āmoa (*Pandanus whitmeeanus*) is not used extensively, but it has been experimented with locally to make coarse mats. (Its fruit is used for making fragrant garlands.) 'Ara 'āmoa leaves are quicker to prepare for weaving than the other two pandanus types.

Next to the coconut tree, pandanus is one of the most valuable plants, especially to those dwelling on atolls. All parts of the tree are useful. Its aerial roots are used for medicine and eel traps (although information and samples of these traps are unavailable). Old leaves of *Pandanus tectorius* are sewn together to make thatch roofing, and new leaves of *Pandanus spurius* are used for weaving baskets, mats, hats, fans, and clothing, as well as to make sails for vaka.

Pandanus trunks were used for house walls and tool handles. Pounded prop/aerial roots were used in the northern islands to make twine, rope, and dance costumes, where it is called kaihara in Tongareva (Tarani Napa, pers. comm., 2014) and kai'ara in Ngaputoru, (the collective name of Mauke, Mitiaro, and Atiu). Pandanus groves, called pa rau'ara, are deliberately planted near the home. Pandanus, being a hardy shrub, will grow just about anywhere. Three years after planting, the shrub is ready for use, and the leaves can be harvested every two to three months.

In the late 1920s, a mealy bug infestation killed most pandanus trees on Rarotonga (Walls 1986:12). To this day, very little pandanus grows on Rarotonga, and weaving has vanished. In the 1970s and 1980s, a disease wiped out pandanus trees on Mangaia and Atiu, respectively. In spite of this devastation, weaving persisted on both islands with the women sourcing materials from Ngaputoru and the northern group.

Kaka'o (wild cane)

Kaka'o (wild cane, *Miscanthus floridulus*) is a reed that grows up to three metres in height, usually in sunny places, in the lowlands and on steep slopes. The strong stems have a number of uses, including teka, a dart used in a reed throwing game. Kaka'o was used as thatch sticks (the rod over which rau'ara thatch leaves are folded and sewn) for the roof of 'are rau (pandanus leaf houses), for fencing, house walls, and torches. On Mauke, kaka'o was used in dance costumes.

On Mangaia, where the reed, called tō (which is the same word in Māori for sugar cane), is common, the stems are used to make decorative hats. The fibre of this plant is hardy, and hats made from it last much longer than those of other fibre. Kaka'o is stripped into very fine strands for use.

For nearly a century, fine, durable Mangaian kaka'o hats were considered the most prestigious of hats and every woman aspired to own one. Mangaian kaka'o hats are no longer made, and this fibre is rarely used now.

FIGURE 3
A tō kaka'o reed hat: Mangaia (photo: D.S. Marshall, 1950s. D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

Pirita

Pirita (native jasmine, *Jasminum didymum*) is the name given to two types of vine although *Jasminum didymum* is the variety used in Ngaputoru for weaving ʻīnaki (eel traps). It grows largely on the forest floor of the makatea (ancient upraised coral), and its vines crawl into the tree canopy. The younger vines are the most useful for making baskets and ʻīnaki. These vines are used within a week of being cut; otherwise, they become stiff and harder to work with.

Kiekie

Kiekie (*Freycinetia wilderi*) is used to make ʻīnaki and sturdy baskets. Kiekie, a branching vine, can grow up to 40 feet in length. It grows only on Rarotonga, usually on tree trunks in mountain forests. (The plant does not occur in Ngaputoru or on Aitutaki, where coconut roots were used for eel traps.) The wiry young roots, which allow kiekie vines to adhere to tree trunks, are very strong and were used to make sturdy baskets, bowls, and furniture. An old Rarotongan saying is "Ko teia rima e toa, ko tera rima e kiekie" (one of my hands is iron-wood, the other is kiekie, meaning this hand is solid and that hand is unbreakable, or both my hands are strong and indestructible).

The kiekie roots were soaked in seawater and then pounded to remove the outer bark. They could be split to make finer strands and stored in coils for future use. When needed, the roots were soaked in water again to make them pliable.

Men made ʻīnaki traditionally, but women have made them recently. Until about ten years ago, the Boys Brigade of Atiu and male students at Atiu College regularly manufactured eel traps of pirita to sell on Rarotonga.

Kiekie and pirita are now rarely used, and the crafts they were used in have virtually disappeared. However, Rarotonga-based cane-working artist Johanna Taira has experimented with both kiekie and pirita and produced some fine examples of wickerwork from these fibres.

Kiriʻau

Kiriʻau (bark fibre) of ʻau (beach hibiscus, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) is valued for its many uses, including dance skirts, costume decorations, cordage, flowers, coloured ribbons, and belts, as well as to decorate baskets and pae (borders) of mats. ʻAu is not commonly used in the northern islands as it does not grow on all of the islands.

To prepare it, the bark of tall, straight stems are peeled off and inner bark or bast is separated from the useless outer bark. The strips are then scraped to remove extraneous matter, rolled into coils, put in a sack, and soaked in the sea for up to three weeks. A rock or two is used to anchor the sack so it won't float away. Soaking softens and whitens the fibres. Some people prefer to keep the bast on the wood stems, tying them all together, then soaking them in the sea with rocks to weigh them down. When retrieved, the fibres are stripped from the sticks, washed in water and dried, then split into fine strands for use.

Usually, men use untreated ʻau bast to make tāmaka kiriʻau (sandals), maka puaka (pig-tethering rope), taura (twine), and kupenga (fishing net). In its uncured state, kiriʻau, is stiff and reddish-brown in colour.

ʻAu is not common in the northern group; thus, northern islanders used the bast of tou *(Cordia subcordata)* after soaking in sea water, and dye it to make decorative fringes for garments, mats, and baskets.

Pia Māori (native arrowroot, *Tacca pinnatifida*) stalks were peeled, dried, and used to make hats, or to colour enhance mats, hats, and baskets as the soft fibres absorbed dye very well. The late ʻItirangi Purea (1915-2000) of Mauke frequently used this fibre (Kura Purea, pers. comm., 2014). The plant is no longer used either as a food (its tubers) or in crafts.

Dyes

To add character to woven items, people have used colours. They have favoured ʻau because it is fine and easily absorbs the dye.

FIGURE 4
Men making inaki or eel trap, c.1925 (photo: George Crummer, Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

FIGURE 5
Cylindrical eel trap, Rarotonga-made from kiekie, *Freycinetia wilder* (photo: FE002330–v2 © Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand).

FIGURE 6
Pirita-vine eel basket made by Johanna Taira, 2005 (photo: Jean Mason).

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FIGURE 7
Moenga pae kōviri with tātauro motif (photo: FE0010088 © Te Papa Tongarewa, National Museum of New Zealand).

FIGURE 8
Cook Islands, 1920s. A group of women display a tātua kopu made, most probably, for a forthcoming chiefly investiture (photo: unknown photographer, Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

For red, roots of nono (*Morinda citrifolia*) are scraped and the juice expressed through a cloth, then mixed with ngaika (coral lime). For brown, the scrapings of the reddish inner bark of the tuitui (candlenut tree, *Aleurites moluccana*), soaked and squeezed through a cloth, gives a dark red juice, called iri, which turns brown when dry. Iri combined with soot from burnt candlenut kernels creates black. For yellow, renga (turmeric, *Curcuma domestica*) roots and lime juice are mixed. For burnt orange, the scrapings of nono root are mixed with lime juice. The more juice added, the darker the dye becomes. Green comes from keketa vine (*Vigna marina*) leaves and lemon juice. Pink dye comes from soaking stalks of taro ʻāmoa and taro veo (*Colocasia esculenta*) in lime juice. Mati (dyer's fig, *Ficus tinctoria*) berries also yield a pink/red dye when mixed with pounded tou (*Cordia subcordata*) leaves. Black comes from charcoal and pītōrēa (willow primrose, *Ludwigia octovalvis*), a swamp plant.

A plant with a natural black colour, which was used to enhance woven items, is the ūtū/veʻi (mountain banana, *Musa troglodytarum).* Ūtū/veʻi is an ancient

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According to tradition, when eaten, the fruit has the lotus-like effect of causing one to lose interest in ever leaving one's homeland.

introduction into Polynesia. A giant herb, it is easily recognised by its orange-yellow fruit growing in bunches that point skyward. According to tradition, when eaten, the fruit has the lotus-like effect of causing one to lose interest in ever leaving one's homeland. The plant thrives in shady, cool, moist areas, in the mountains of Rarotonga or in forested gullies of the outer islands. The black material from the 'trunk' was called paenono in Rarotonga, where it was used to create decorative designs in mats only (Savage 1962:219). On the other southern Cook Islands, the outer bark of the 'trunk' of this giant herb was stripped into fine strands to create overlaid patterns in mats, baskets, fans, as well as hats. On Rarotonga, the plants are harvested but not cultivated, although some people have attempted to do so over the last ten years (Puna Dyer, pers. comm., 2010). In the outer islands, ūtū/veʻi were grown like bananas: from suckers after the trunk was cut down. As the outer islands' human population decreased, the feral pig population increased and fed on the roots and trunk (to the plant's extinction on some islands. On Rarotonga, the plant is still abundant, but people now use it primarily as food. The outer black bark was also used in the past as rough cordage, the purple sap as a dye and for treatment of inflammation (especially elephantiasis), and the leaves as wrappings for food cooked in umu (ground ovens).

Today, people use artificial dyes or synthetic coloured ribbons (commonly gift-wrap ribbons) to add colour to woven articles (Fig.15).

FIGURE 9
Bark of the ūtū/veʻi (*Musa troglodytarum*, mountain banana) was used to make the complex patterns in this mat. The mat is attributed to Tonga and is unusual for Cook Islands as it is neither of the paretumu nor kōviri design (moenga pae). However, the black patterns formed by paenono fibre from the outer bark of the ūtū/veʻi tree, which was the only fibre used for colour in mats on Rarotonga before synthetic dyes became available, suggests the mat is from Rarotonga. This fibre was commonly used in Rarotonga in the late 1890s and early 1900s (photo: OcEP.10, © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 10
Women of Atiu present woven gifts to the visiting Governor General of New Zealand, General Sir Bernard Freyberg, 1948 (photo: Edward Percival Christensen, Tourist and Publicity, 1/2-039922-F. Alexander Turnbull Library. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23171997).

FIGURE 11
Pae mats at an exhibition of women's crafts in the 1920s or 1930s on Atiu (or, more probably, Atiu mats on exhibition at the Court House, Rarotonga). Most of the mats are paretumu of the highest quality. In front of the mats stand Stephen Savage, court clerk and author (left); Judge Ayson, Resident Commissioner (centre) and the third person (right) is unknown. The decorative border of pae is achieved by overlaid weavings. To stand out from the rest of the mat, the coloured and plain material used in pae are split to half the size of the original strips. (photo: 1/2-104219-F, Alexander Turnbull Library).

FIGURE 12
Patterned mats on walls in Rarotonga, 1920s. Probably an awards ceremony in the offices of the colonial administration (photo: Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

PATTERNS

Pae is the term for side or edge, and in mat-making, it has come to mean decorative coloured border(s). There are two types of moenga pae (bordered mats): kōviri, which has patterns at the long ends of the mat (mats being generally rectangular in shape) and paretumu, which has all four borders of the mat decorated. The best quality of these mats has four bands continuing to the centre of the mat. As coloured borders on mats were unknown in the Society and Austral Islands, the style is considered a local invention (Buck 1944:426).

PRODUCTION

This section discusses rau'ara (pandanus) because it is the most commonly used treated raw material. Weavers must prepare pandanus strips before they can weave.

Preparation of rau'ara

1. When the leaves are kua rau (ready for harvest), they are cut across near the base, one leaf at a time, using a small, sharp knife. If the tree is taller than the harvester, the leaves are cut using a reap hook. Whole, unspotted, long leaves are preferred. The harvester removes any thorns on the midribs and leaf edges (Fig.31).
2. The leaf tips are plaited together using a 3-ply braid. The plaited bundle is spread out on the ground, in the sun, or hung from a clothesline, for about three weeks to dry (tauraki ki te ra). The process is similar for 'ara 'āmoa (to make coarse mats), although the leaves are ready to use in a week. The drying process makes the leaves more durable and flexible–a prerequisite to being able to use them to make mats and baskets.
3. Sometimes a wooden stick tool, which is staked to the ground, is used to 'akaparuparu (soften) the leaves in a process called keke (sawing). Although not all leaves need softening, it can accelerate the process and makes it easier on the hands.
4. The braided leaves are brought inside every night, or when it rains, so moisture will not ruin them.
5. During the drying process, the leaves change from green to brown and shrivel and curl. The leaves are flattened and pulled straight in the hands in a process called 'ati'ati rau'ara. This is usually done at night when the air is dryer.
6. The leaves are then pōtaka ia (rolled) to form a tupe (roll). One leaf is wound tight around the finger, then another is wound around it, then another and so on until a tupe (usually 30 leaves) is obtained. The roll is tied together with a split pandanus leaf by passing the strip through the hole at the centre of the roll once the finger has been removed. These rolls are sold, or stored away for use at a later date.

Weaving preparation

1. To begin weaving, the weaver calculates the number of tupe she will need for her mat or basket, and carries out the following tasks to make the dried leaves ready for use. She unfastens the roll, winds open each leaf, and rolls it by hand to flatten it (pāoro, paaro, 'akatikatika).
2. She splits the leaves lengthwise by running a pin down from the base to the tip. After removing their midribs (pātoe), she discards them. Then she

scrapes each leaf again to straighten it, using a knife's blunt side. In the past, weavers used shell of ka'i (a type of mussel), other shells, or coconut shell, and in more recent times, they used a piece of flattened roofing tin.

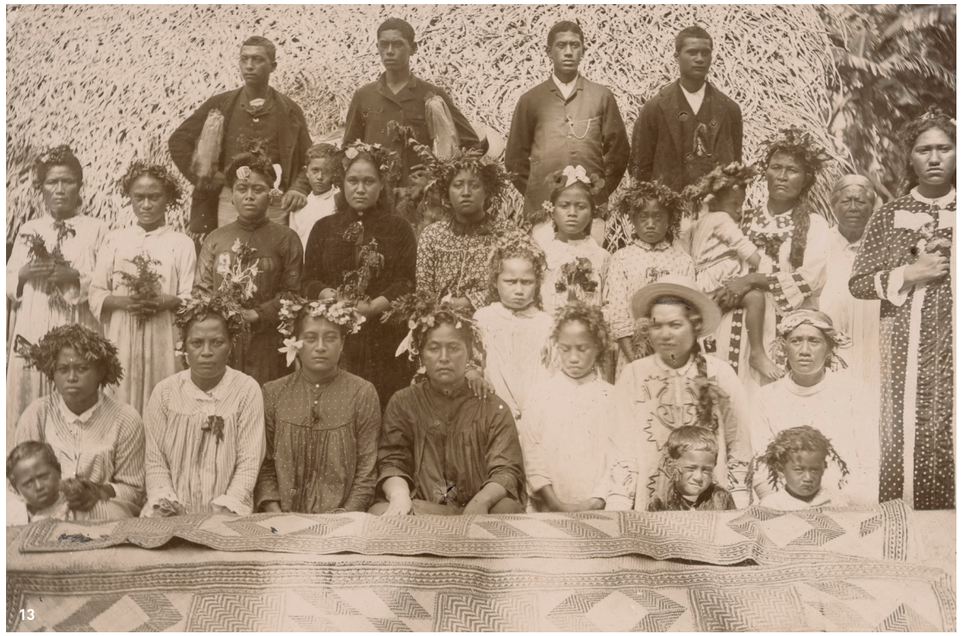
3. Each leaf provides up to four strips, which are left connected at the butt end. The unsplit end assists in keeping the strips together when weaving begins. Nowadays, a metal tool, said to be invented in the northern group, called punu, which is basically a piece of tin with serrations (called ni'o, 'teeth') cut into it, is used to accelerate splitting each leaf into multiple strands.

PROCESS

According to the Rev. William Wyatt Gill (known as Gilirua to Cook Islanders), women wove their mats ". . . on old canoes turned upside down, on account of the round surface and convenient height" (1885:188). This is unheard of today. Women prefer to weave their mats flat on the floor, while they are seated with the mat in front of them, or, seated on the mat as it nears completion. Savage (1962) reported a similar apparatus used on Rarotonga, called the papa-roa, a long slab of wood, with one side slightly rounded, on which to weave mats, although none are known to exist today.

There are two important things to consider when weaving: 'akamata'anga (the start) and the anga'anga (the work process). The starting line begins the article and makes the continued work possible. In order for a craft to look good, it must have regular, even form, which must be maintained from the start.

Most weaving is commonly the one-under, one-over technique, which gives rise to what appears to be a check design, called takita'i in Māori. A common starting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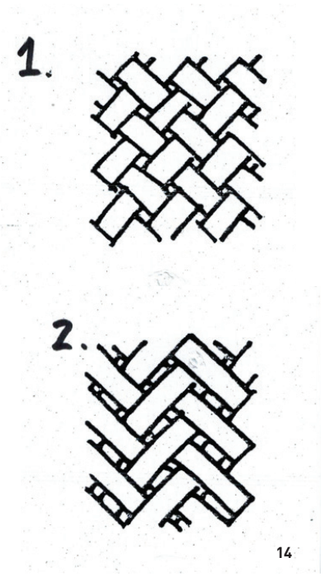

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technique of takirua (twilled twos) is a quicker method than takita'i, and appears as a zigzag pattern throughout the craft. "Twilled twos also developed into twilled threes, fours or fives and these combined with check or lesser twills. . ." (Buck 1930:223 quoted in Taylor 1960:47), according to the weaver's desire. The check pattern was retained in coarse floor mats, but in sleeping mats more decorative weaving was used.

A more complex technique involves a number of lines at the start, not just one. It involves dropping the left hand wefts over the right hand wefts all at one time and continuing for the rest of the craft in this manner. This results in triangles or diamond patterns in the weaving (Buck 1930:223 quoted in Taylor 1960:47).

An extensive range of raranga patterns can be achieved by using the check weave and the twill weave, or a combination of these, and by introducing more than one colour among the strands. One pattern can have many names or some variants of the same pattern can have the same name. Families, va'ine-tini (women's handicraft-making groups), and individual weavers might have their own names for patterns. This suggests that women in the past, on their different islands, in their different villages, or in their various va'ine-tini groups, developed their artistic expressions in relative isolation from one another with the range of patterns becoming more apparent only in modern times.

These are some common, decorative, overlay patterns, used especially to weave mats, hats, and baskets: āraūnga (crab tracks), taravana (sea-urchin spines or "crazy"), ni'oni'o (toothed), ni'o mangō (shark's teeth), manuta'i (sea birds), tapuae mokorā (duck's footprints), papavaro/varo (sea centipede, also known as the banded prawn-killer), ruru (bundle), ta'iri'iri (fan), matakere (black eye), parepare o te ra (setting sun), taimana (diamond), paka 'onu (turtle shell), karamarama (windows), maire (fern), peti (spade, suit of playing card), ata (heart, suit of playing card) and manurua (two birds).

FIGURE 13
Cook Islanders and woven mat, Ngatangiia, Rarotonga,Cook Islands.The curved shape under the mats displayed in front of the Ngatangiia women in the late 1800s is possibly a papa-roa (photo: Craig, Elsdon Walter Grant, George R Crummer, 1917-1980: PAColl-8066-03-08-2, Alexander Turnbull Library http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22741945).

FIGURE 14
Weaving samples: (1)takita'i (check weave): the one under, one over technique common to all weaving gives rise to what appears as a check pattern because of the width of the strips; (2)takirua (twilled twos): this is a quicker technique than check, and gives rise to a zigzag design (drawings: Donna Taylor, 1960).

FIGURE 15
Moenga pae in process of being made by Metua Terei'a, utilizing different colours of gift ribbon (photo: Jean Mason).

> ***Customs extended to the process of weaving. Weavers should never eat where they are working. A woven article started should always be completed; otherwise, all future projects will not be successful.***

CUSTOMS

Many customs surround the art of weaving, particularly in harvesting and treating pandanus. Mainly, women weave. Men can make āpuka and other articles that are immediately required, as well as ʻīnaki, which need some of the toughest fibres in their construction. Women, however, weave the vast majority of articles.

Not all women weavers subscribe to all of the customs. One weaver remarked that it was because "we're all Christians now, we don't follow the old ways." Some of the customs date from a long time ago, while some seem to have post-contact origins.

Custom says one must not burn or throw away the discarded pandanus leaves, cuttings, and scraps. One should place them at the base of pandanus plants so the plants will not develop thorns (making it more difficult to work with) and their leaves will not become tona (develop 'sores' or spots; disease) (Mama Metua Terei, pers. comm., Sep 2009; Putai Kairae, pers. comm., May 2014). To harvest, a woman cuts old leaves at the outside of the plant and places these at the bottom of the plant for mulch. She uses only the leaves near the centre. Removal of younger leaves at the very centre will cause the plant to weaken and develop shorter leaves in future, or even die. Women believed pandanus should never be cut from the plant at night, or when it is raining, and the best time to cut pandanus is generally considered to be the dry season, namely June through September. Women should never cut pandanus leaves during their maki vaʻine (menses). Children should not play with or touch the pandanus strips used for weaving.

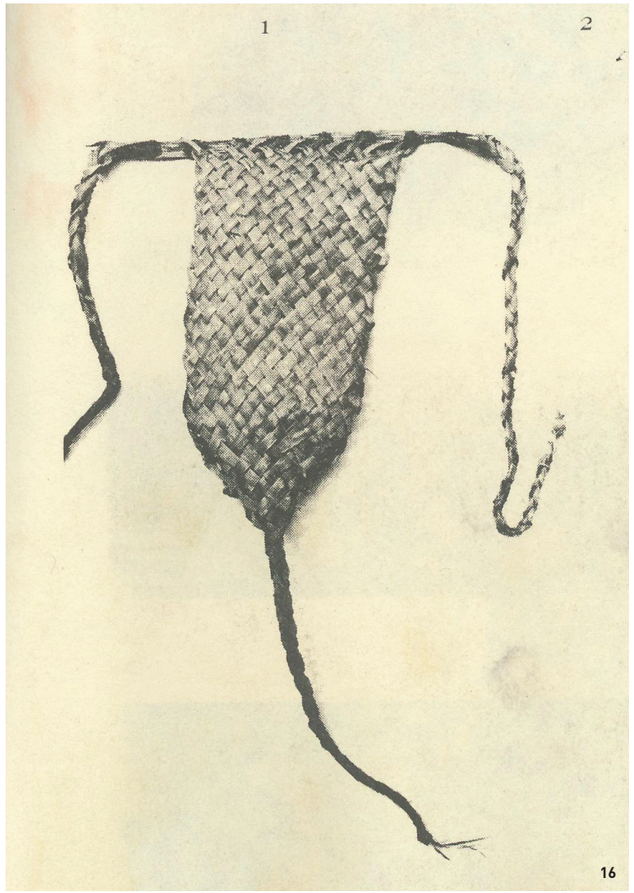
Customs extended to the process of weaving. Weavers should never eat where they are working. A woven article started should always be completed; otherwise, all future projects will not be successful. Many weaving customs have common sense origins, mainly to do with the weaver's safety, extending the life of the woven article, and ensuring survival of the plant resources.

Customs stretched to the finished products of weaving. For example, a new kete (basket) given as a gift should always have something inside it, e.g., a bottle of coconut oil or a pāreu (sarong). A moenga pae when presented as a gift, especially at an oʻora (gift presentation at a reception) should always be presented open to display its patterns, and people should try not to step on the pae when it is spread on the floor. Moenga pae are only used on special occasions and should not be left on the floor all the time.

PRODUCTS

Clothes

Cook Islanders ceased weaving clothes from local materials so long ago that we rely on traditions and foreigners' descriptions for knowledge about them. Some maro (loin cloths) worn by Māori men before the introduction of cotton cloth are said to have been woven, although how exactly, is unknown. What is known is that as men undertook a variety of tasks, they wore different loincloths: maro ta, maro piri, maro puiri, maro kutekute, maro tui, maro pakaku, maro renga pua, maro peipei, maro itiki, maro tikoru, maro purekau, maro rau ti, and maro takataka. It is known that some of the names indicate the tying method employed as well as the fabric the maro was made from. Unfortunately, many of the meanings of the names have been forgotten. Apart from three types, maro itiki (tied), maro piri (tight), and maro rau ti (cordyline leaves), which are still used by dancers in troupes that entertain tourists, the rest of the maro types are unknown today. According to Savage (1962:145-146) maro takataka, which was made from sennit, was a special kind of inner waist cloth, somewhat like an enlarged body belt, into which was placed a deceased ariki's spirit food for its journey to the spirit world.



The maro kura of legend and oratory was a girdle ornamented with red and yellow feathers generally worn by ariki (chiefs) and their family. From antiquity come the names Maro-kura-o-Atea, the sacred crimson girdle of the god Atea, and Te-maro-kura-o-te-rangi, the sacred crimson girdle of the heavens, which when used, implied utmost reverence towards the sacred being who ruled the heavens (Savage 1962:146). Maro kura is a special girdle ornamented with red and yellow feathers worn by an ariki on the day of his investiture. A maro kura could consist of a long strip of red tapa cloth of special make, which is wrapped around the waist. An ariki had the right to wear the maro kura at any time (Savage 1962:145).

FIGURE 16
A Pukapukan malo or loin cloth of woven pandanus (photo: Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 1938).

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E.H. Lamont, an American trader and adventurer in the South Pacific, reported that in Tongareva, the coconut tree provided not only most of their food, medicine, and decorations, but also their clothing: ". . .the tiche and the parieu" (titi – woven waist band and parua – cape worn over the shoulders). He described the "parieu" as being ". . .made large and double, serving them as a dress by day, or as a covering by night, when it is opened out" (1867:155).

Other types of woven clothing were tiputa (poncho, overshirt), tātua (wrap, sash), tātua ūmaūma/tātua mokotua (chest wrap, back wrap), tātua kopu (girdle, waist mat), and pāreu (waist and hip wrap). Several old photographs in the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society collection show woven tātua worn at special events in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

According to Tane Ra Touna of Atiu, "Pandanus leaves were skilfully woven into cloth with beautiful designs and then cut out to produce a kind of shirt for a top garment and a separate skirt to go around the waist" (Kautai et al 1984:90-91). Formerly, chiefs did wear pandanus cloth for investiture, but now they wear tapa (bark cloth).

Buck, who saw tiputa of woven pandanus used for dances and festivals in the 1920s, confirmed they were not a modern invention. He quoted Captain Cook, who wrote of Atiuans, "But some had pieces of mats, most curiously varied with black and white, made into a sort of jacket without sleeves. . ." (Buck 1944:77).

For special occasions, people on Rakahanga and Manihiki in the northern group wear a tiputa woven from rito or fine pandanus. Apii Piho, the new Member of Parliament for Manihiki wore a tiputa for his swearing-in ceremony in 2006.

'Au (beach hibiscus) is not common in Manihiki and Rakahanga and 'aute (*Broussonetia papyrifera,* paper mulberry), from which tapa can be made, do not grow at all in the northern islands.

Moenga

Mats were once very important in Māori households, being widely used for 'āriki'ta'ua (floor coverings) and kaka'u moe (bedding). In pre-contact times, people had little or no furniture in their houses. A floor mat is called moenga. Moe is 'to sleep.' Moenga for sleeping were placed over grasses, ferns, or brush. Babies had their own sleeping mats, which were small and finely woven.

In a case of mixing the old with the new, the Rev. W.W. Gill, who visited Mauke in June 1865, reported that his hosts gave him a four-post bed ". . . covered with neat mats" to sleep on (W. W. Gill 1885:58).

Once commonly made throughout the Cook Islands, moenga pae are today produced only in Rakahanga in the north and Mitiaro in the south. In Rakahanga, some women have substituted commercial paint for the woven patterns of moenga pae.

Traditionally, moenga pae as well as the family's plain mats were rolled and stored in the house rafters to keep them clean and to prolong their useful life, or to prepare for an 'āriki'anga (described below). The family covered the floor in tapakau (disposable mats made from kikau) upon which the pandanus mats were placed when needed.

Moenga pae were used as sleeping mats, for decorations at ceremonial functions, for 'shows' (village exhibitions), as gifts for visiting guests and foreign visitors, as display items at home during a tutaka (annual inspections of Cook Islands homes carried out by Au Va'ine and the Health Department since the early 1900s), and as gifts at weddings. During an o'ora ceremony, at weddings, women weavers open out their mats and carry them to show pride in their skills, before presenting the mats to the newly married couple.

It is thought that people began to use mats as funeral shrouds with the arrival of Christianity when burying bodies underground became the norm. Prior to that, treatment of dead bodies on some islands included a sort of mummification, or they were left to decay in the open until such time the bones were cleaned and removed for storing in caves, or dead bodies were wrapped in tapa and deposited in deep chasms.

In pre-Christian times, Tongarevans sewed a dead body into a mat and suspended it from the ceiling of a hare pehu (mourning house). The chief mourners sat beneath the corpse, and on leaving the mourning house at nights, the mourners wore huge kikau baskets that covered them from head to knees. With only their legs visible as they walked, they appeared rather like "a couple of animated haystacks" (Lamont 1867:210). In a show of affection for the deceased, the chief mourners stayed beneath the dead body for up to four months, while the bodily fluids drained from it onto them.

Although the cost of importing coffins or the timber necessary to make them was high, Cook Islanders soon wanted the prestigious western/Christian association of having a coffin in which to bury their dead and went to considerable lengths to obtain one. They buried their loved ones in large, wooden kumete (bowls), canoe hulls, and even in coffins made from corrugated roofing iron (Kairae Kairae, pers. comm., 2009). In 1969, the writer witnessed the burial of a Mauke man on Rarotonga, in a large, plain, pandanus mat at the Catholic cemetery at Panama. At the service's end, mourners folded a large, plain pandanus mat over the body, placed several stones over the mat to keep it from unfolding, then piled dirt over the mat. The man's relatives were too poor to afford a wooden coffin. The writer learned later that it was not uncommon for outer islanders to be buried this way on Rarotonga, for many lived there at the largesse of family members who had arrived on that island before they did. Over

FIGURE 17
Kamoe mataiʻapo, wearing a tātua kopu at the investiture of Makea Nui Tinirau Ariki, 1921 (photo: Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

FIGURE 18
"Group outside Manihiki court house" wearing tiputa woven from fine strips of pandanus, c.1880-1889 (photo: *Auckland Star*, Negatives. 1/1-003210-G, Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22347483).

time, people became embarrassed if they did not have a wooden coffin for their deceased relative, so a new custom evolved whereby people gave money to the deceased's nearest relative as soon as they heard the news of the person's death. The money assists with funeral expenses, including purchase of a coffin, cement, and a headstone. Until the 1970s, mats were used as burial shrouds, but with the standard of living rising generally, the custom faded in favour of coffins. At funerals now, mats lie under the deceased's coffin or line the grave. Coffins are never directly placed in the dirt.

Ta'iri, ta'iri'iri (fans)

Traditionally, weavers made large triangular fans from dried pandanus or green unprocessed kikau. Early missionaries banned large fans in Mangaian churches because people tended to sleep behind them instead of listening to the sermons! Ta'iri kura (sacred crimson fans) were used like sceptres; they were symbols for ariki (Savage 1962:332, and see Makea illustration, Scothorn, this volume). Today, people commonly use personal fans of pandanus or kikau shaped as diamonds or triangles for cooling in the summer months. They use bigger versions to fan wood fires when cooking. Crescent shaped fans made of rito with a pearl shell handle are largely ornamental and popular as gifts or souvenirs.

Fans have a place in the night sky: Pu ta'iri'iri (fan handle) is the name for the Pleiades (also known as Mata-ono) on Atiu.

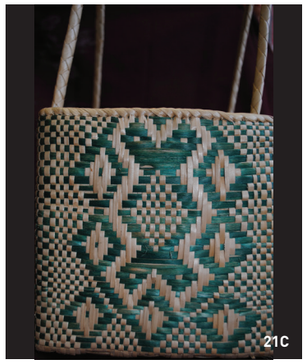
Kete (Baskets)

Coconut is the most pliable and easiest plant to use to make kete, but it is also the least durable. Baskets made from sun-dried pandanus are more difficult to make but are more durable. Rito is the most durable of the three. Because rito is a short, fine fibre, baskets tend to be cylindrical in shape and small in size. They are more like a purse. Small, round rito containers for jewellery, only 6-7 inches high with a lid, are still popular items.

Kete pāpā (or kete para'ara'a) are baskets made from pandanus, without use of moulds to give them shape. Oblong shaped baskets are made using po'o avata (rectangular wooden boxes) and round baskets are usually made using large, empty milk tins. Some baskets have wire-reinforced handles and cardboard-reinforced bodies. A basket with a lid is simply called a kete tāpoki (basket with lid).

FIGURE 19
A fine fan, identifiable as Rarotongan from the handle design of two male figures back to back (photo: BM6851 © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 20
In the 1940s, girls at Ngatangiia School on Rarotonga learnt weaving. Here, they display their hand-woven kete of varying shapes and styles. Their teacher Iritia Tairi Iro (far right) was about 16 at the time (photo: Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).



Basket parts include the to'e (keel, bottom), po'o (sides), va'a (opening), ivi (ribs) (supports that give it strength), and mouranga/tātai (handle).

Āpuka or tāpora (Rarotongans no longer use the latter term) is a disposable food basket with a simple horizontal takitai weave. It is made with fresh green kikau leaf intact with midrib (i.e., the leaves are not split) and a portion of aniu (frond rib) is retained as the handle and to give it strength and shape. Rangokere (also called āpuka aniu) is a type of āpuka strengthened by keeping the aniu thick and intact at the top of the basket and the leaves woven inside out. When it is needed for use, the aniu is split open.

Āpuka can be round or oblong. Other kikau baskets, such as o'ini, are small and oval with a mouranga/tātai plaited from the leaf. Oringi (fisherman's basket) can be oblong or round in shape. Although made with the midribs intact, the leaves are split in half and woven in a twill pattern (a departure from the simple horizontal lines of the takitai weave).

These are the easiest and quickest baskets to make, and people sometimes make them at the site from which the food is to be transported. Traditionally, people used them to carry vegetables from the garden, to collect fruit, or to gather fish, crabs, and shellfish from the reef. Sometimes, people put food in them to cook in an umu. People use larger baskets to carry food to village feasts or other communal events. Old āpuka are used to carry rubbish.

FIGURES 21A-21D
A variety of baskets (photos: Jean Mason).

FIGURE 21A
Circular rito purse with pearl and cowrie decoration.

FIGURE 21B
Round rito purse with paka onu (turtle shell), 1970s.

FIGURE 21C
Pandanus basket with green gift ribbon patterning.

FIGURE 21D
Round rito purse with parau (pearlshell), 1970s.

Two recent introductions from Tahiti are the mini-āpuka to bake a whole chicken in an umu and the decorative 'tinsel' (whole coconut fronds) woven into fancy shapes to decorate event venues.

People sometimes use large, round āpuka as a table decoration, with food items placed in its underside, and to store folded, clean laundry. They also use small round baskets as receptacles for objects around the home, such as toilet paper and laundry pegs.

'Īnaki

'Īnaki materials are tough and lack great flexibility; thus, men weave these eel baskets. Another likely reason men make 'īnaki is the traditionally assigned cultural roles and tapu (restrictions) that grew from very strict concepts of interaction between humans and nature: men fished for eels and went in canoes for deep sea fishing; women did not.

Hats

Rito hats are more highly valued than pandanus hats. In the past, both women and men's hats were commonly made, but since men's fashions have changed, men's hats are rarely produced. A man's hat is higher in the crown, shorter in the brim and a 'point' is always pinched into the front of the crown of the hat. Most hats are made using a wooden mould called a to'e which is carved into the desired shape from tamanu (island mahogany, *Calophyllum inophyllum*) or tou (*Cordia subcordata*) wood. Moulds for men's hats are taller in the crown, women's hat moulds are shorter and more rounded in the top.

A typical northern islands woman's hat today will have a piece of pearlshell (parau) at its commencement site in its to'e (crown). In the recent past, turtle shell was used. These hats are much desired by Tahitian women who purchase them in large numbers when they visit Rarotonga. The average price of such a hat today is NZD 250.

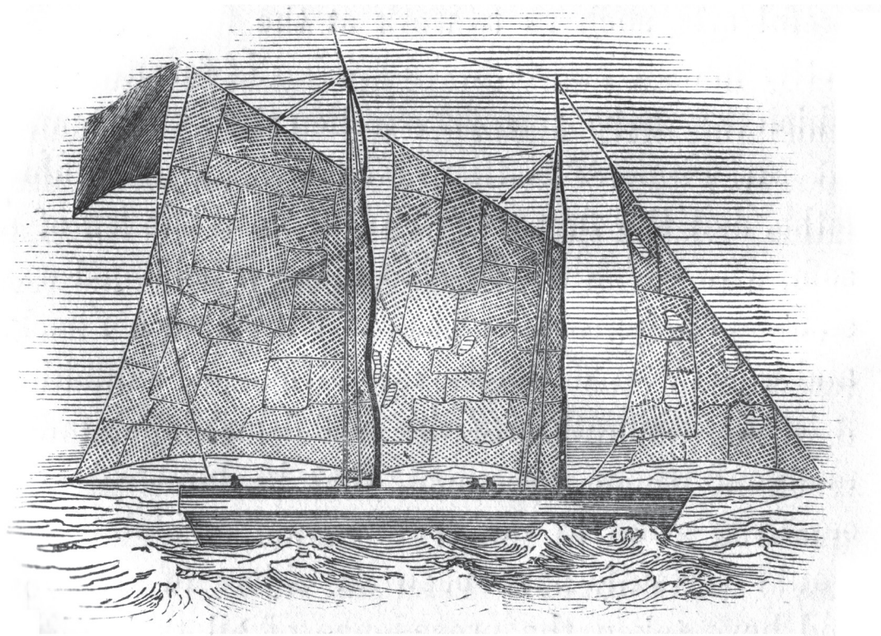
Until recently, a Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC) church in Mitiaro posted a rule at its doorway forbidding the wearing of pandanus hats in church. Pandanus is noa (ordinary), and it is made into mats, on which people walk, so it has low status (Jon Jonassen, pers. comm., 2009), but church is tapu (sacred, exceptional). Generally, Cook Islanders do not wear pandanus hats in church. It is also possible this attitude to pandanus hats dates from the arrival of Christianity, when traditional sun-hats were made from pandanus or kikau. Pandanus hats are also worn by women on 'āngota (expeditions to collect shellfish and crabs from the reef and shore). 'Āngota is considered lowly work (performed by women and children); therefore, 'āngota hats are not fit for church. The writer experienced disapproval in Mauke for her imported, natural raffia hat, which looked like an 'āngota hat, and was told it should not be worn to church.

The making of pandanus crafts declined rapidly on Atiu when mealy bugs decimated pandanus trees in the late 1970s (Walls 1986:13). However, by the mid-1980s the infestation seemed to have abated, and woven products from Atiu increased. A finely woven and decorated, low-crowned pandanus hat, as well as tapa flower ei ūpoko (head wreaths), became essential fashion items up to the 2000s.

Sails

Traditionally, men paddled their outrigger canoes, but Aitutaki fishermen preferred sailing (Haddon & Hornell 1975:167). The sail was either of pandanus matting or pākoko (bark cloth) made from ava (banyan) and 'aute (paper mulberry). Later, men turned to using light-weight substitute material, such as sailcloth from shipwrecked yachts and empty plastic sugar bags.

E. H. Lamont recorded in his journal that the chief, governor and other important people of the island of Mauke ". . . came on board in a large double canoe, to bid us a last farewell. . .," but he wrote nothing about the sail (1867:92).



The Messenger of Peace, as she appeared when leaving Rarotonga for Tahiti.

FIGURE 22
Michelle Finn standing next to a selection of the woven kikau crafts she makes (photo: Jean Mason).

FIGURE 23
A hat good enough to wear to church. White rito in a four-petal flower, lace pattern (photo: Jean Mason).

FIGURE 24
The Messenger of Peace–for sails Williams used sleeping mats sewn together in the manner of the sails of traditional voyaging canoes (lithograph from Williams 1837:43).

In the past, people used pandanus to weave ra, now called kie (sails), for vaka taurua (ocean-going canoes). Manihiki and Rakahanga islanders wove rectangular sails from kikau as implied in the name for the vaka, vaka tietie or vaka kikau, which they used for lagoon sailing (Tereora 1994:8). According to Lamont, square mat sails from kikau fronds were made in Tongareva, also called Penrhyn (Lamont 1867:242-243).

Islanders wove sails for vaka taurua in a tight, check pattern. For open sea voyages, sails had to be strong to withstand wind and rain but flexible for sudden gusts.

While on Rarotonga in 1827, Rev. John Williams decided to build a ship. Working with the assistance of locals and with barely any tools and only a little knowledge of ship-building, he was able to complete the seventy to eighty ton ship, which he named *The Messenger of Peace*, in three months. For sails he used "mats on which the natives sleep" which were "quilted" so that "they might be strong enough to resist the wind" (J. Williams 1837:39). There are no surviving traditional Cook Islands sails. However, these islands had many links with the Society Islands. One of the very few remaining Polynesian sails from the pre-contact era is held in the British Museum and is a Tahitian sail made in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Figs. 25 and 26). "The sail is constructed from three large mats, as well as smaller pieces of various shapes and sizes, each made of plaited *Pandanus tectorius* leaf" (Hiquily et al 2009:2). It is likely that, in the Cook Islands, the sails were also panels sewn together. This panel construction type sail was also seen in Hawai'i (T. Holmes 1981:52). "The design and construction of canoe sails have shared many points of similarity across Polynesia. . ." (Hiquily et al 2009:7).

Islanders still sailed old style double canoes (vaka katea, having one hull shorter than the other), 50 to 80 feet long, in Ngaputoru in the 1920s and 1930s with ra/kie/'ie ('ie in Ngaputoru for sails) of matting. Elsewhere in the Cook Islands, double hulled canoes had disappeared long beforehand (Best 1925:205 in Haddon & Hornell 1975:170).

Details vary in canoe descriptions about sail design or construction, including the preparation and type of pandanus.

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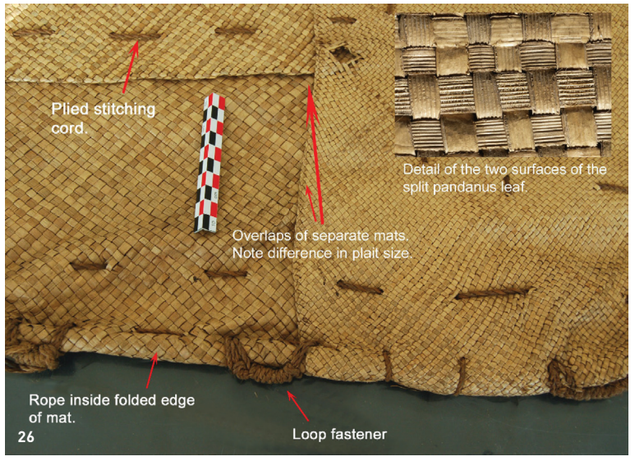

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There is little information about the effectiveness of the mat sails versus the cloth ones. A species of pandanus called Sail pandanus (*Pandanus QQyulu),* which today is present only in Pukapuka, was used to make sails, hence the name (Cook Islands Biodiversity Database and Gerald McCormack, pers., comm., 2014). Whether the same species of pandanus was used for making ra/kie in the past in the rest of the Cook Islands, is not known.

Atiu women in recent times wove mat sails from rau'ara (*Pandanus spurius*), 20 feet in height, for *Enuamanu I,* the vaka built for, and sailed to, Rarotonga in 1992 for the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts. Mama Atemaki was leader of the sail-making group, which chose a combination of single, coarse, mature pandanus leaves, as well as young pandanus leaves doubled during weaving, to make the triangular sail. By all accounts, the sails were effective, and the vaka arrived safely. The Auckland Maritime Museum later bought the vaka (Teiotu 2013:357).

Vaka moana, vaka taurua, or vaka katea (ocean-going, double-hulled canoes) construction in ancient Māori society brought large numbers of people together, from all sections of society: titled people, ordinary men and women, children, weavers, mariners, farmers, fishermen and ta'unga (priests), all working together to create an instrument of purpose and fulfilment, the quality of which could be the difference between life and death at sea. They named their vaka, and treated each one as a living member of the community. The entire community would turn out to haul rough-hewn logs from the interior of the island. Women and children gathered the rau'ara leaves for sails, while old men braided thousands of yards of ka'a (sennit). The ariki guided the ka'a lashing of the vaka and gave the vaka mana (power). People believed chiefly personal power flowed into the vessel as the ariki handled it (Kairae Kairae, pers. comm., 2009).

> ***Atiu women in recent times wove mat sails from rau'ara* (Pandanus spurius), *20 feet in height, for* Enuamanu I, *the vaka built for, and sailed to, Rarotonga in 1992 for the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts.***

'ĀRIKI'ANGA
(SPECIAL EVENTS IN A SOCIAL SPACE)

Cook Islands Māori have practised 'ariki'anga since ancient times. Raranga is an integral part of 'ariki'anga, especially in preparations and in gift-giving at receptions. Raranga and pākau rangaranga (woven items) are more prevalent at receptions than during any other activity within Māori society today.

Some materials used in 'ariki'anga preparations and presentations have changed over time on Rarotonga, at least, but the practice of 'ariki'anga remains traditional in the outer islands of the Cook Islands.

Islanders use many woven articles to prepare and decorate for the 'ariki'anga (as implied in the word). Later, they present many other kinds of woven articles as gifts to the guests of honour.

People hold 'ariki'anga to welcome a tere party (travelling group) from Tahiti or New Zealand, to farewell dignitaries, or to celebrate a wedding. The many woven articles and presents are acts of 'ariki'anga, along with the 'ariki'anga event, all of which bring many people from all levels of society together to work and to pay respect or to honour their guests. The general steps in an 'ariki'anga depict the many ways the community comes together.

A few days before the 'ariki'anga (reception), men dig a large umu. They collect volcanic rocks and heap them in the umu, along with coconut half-shells and kindling. They prefer to use toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) or dried orange trees because these woods provide the most intense heat. Meanwhile, women weave

FIGURES 25 & 26
Sections of a Tahitian sail, late 1700s–early 1800s. The sail is constructed from three large mats, as well as smaller pieces of mat of various shapes and sizes, each made from plaited *Pandanus tectorius* leaf and stitched together with running stitches (photo: Oc1999,Q.139, Society Islands © Trustees of the British Museum).

‘au (beach hibiscus, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) leaves, gathered earlier by children, into pe‘u (also called rautao or tāpoki), to cover the food after it has been placed in the umu. The leaves help to retain the heat that cooks the food. They sometimes use other āriki (loose leaf coverings), such as rau ti (*Cordyline fruticosa*), ‘ano *(Guettarda speciosa),* banana, coconut, i‘i (Polynesian chestnut, *Inocarpus fagifer*) and nono.

On the day, and at the site of the ‘ārikiʻanga, men and boys climb coconut trees, cut green palm fronds, and carry them to the women who prepare the leaves for weaving into raurau (disposable leaf plates) and āpuka or rangokere baskets to carry the food. Men may also participate in the weaving of āpuka, rangokere and raurau. Family and friends use āpuka and rangokere to bring raw food to the event. They favour rangokere, in which the whole aniu (frond rib) remains attached to and strengthens the basket, for heavy food items, such as a whole pig carcass. In ordinary āpuka, the aniu is split and a portion is removed.

Using aniu tongs (pingo‘i, piringo‘i), men spread out the heated stones in the umu. On top of the rocks, they spread pi‘oro (shredded banana trunks) to cool the stones slightly before placing food wrapped in leaves on the hot stones. They cover the food with pe‘u (‘au leaves woven together) and other ‘āriki (coverings) and cook it for several hours. Sometimes, they place old mats on top of all the

FIGURE 27
Nono Manārangi as a tangata ʻtuʻoro at an ʻārikiʻanga on Rarotonga in the 1960s. He wears a woven pandanus tātua kopu (girdle), with tapa pāreu (waist and hip wrap) and tātua ūmaūma (shoulder/chest wrap) (photo: R.B. Johnson).

FIGURE 28
Manārangi Tutai Ariki of Aitutaki in 2014 in a traditional ceremonial dress, which includes a woven pandanus tātua ūmaūma (photo: Des Clarke).

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‘āriki layers. Finally, on top of all of that, they might pile anything from wet hessian sacks to soil to old roofing iron to retain the heat.

After the food has cooked, people use raurau to carry away food as gifts to family and friends who brought food to be cooked for the reception. A custom of giving back a small portion is still practised in the outer islands, but not on Rarotonga. Attendees may also eat cooked food from raurau at the event.

The guests of honour will sit in a special place, perhaps marked by a tivaivai (traditional quilt) draped over their seat, which rests on a moenga pae. For ‘ārikiʻanga, people use only their best mats and tivaivai. This spatial delineation by moenga pae and tivaivai signifies and highlights the guests’ special status on the occasion. The host might hang new, colourful moenga pae and tivaivai in the area to demarcate the reception area and to further highlight the specialness of the occasion.

A tangata tuʻoro or tangata kapiki tiʻoroʻoro (person performing the traditional welcome chants) wears a traditional costume comprising woven articles, such as pāreu kiriʻau or purau skirt (in the waist-band), and an overskirt/girdle of woven pandanus. His or her tiputa (poncho, overshirt), tātua (chest /shoulder wrap, sash), or pāreu (waist wrap) may consist of woven pandanus, decorated with kiriʻau (tree hibiscus bast), or tapa cloth. The pare (crown, headdress) can have matting and woven sennit, or knotted kiriʻau, or ‘ōrongā *(Pipturus albidus)* in the foundation structure to give it strength and stiffness.

During a wedding feast, a spokesman for the groom and a spokesman for the bride will each recite the genealogies of the respective family and in so doing will perform an ‘Iriʻiri. ‘Iriʻiri means ‘decorating’ (as in lineage, in this case) by making connections to famous ancestors or to past events and places. ‘iriʻiri also means ‘plaiting,’ as if the spokesman is connecting to an event in the past or to a common ancestor (finding possible links between the visitors/guests and the hosts, or the married couple to each other, in the distant past, is important to Cook Islanders). Thus, raranga is intimately connected with ‘ārikiʻanga, in objects and in words.

During an ‘ārikiʻanga, a dance troupe will usually perform to entertain guests. The performers’ costumes and props will be an assortment of plaited and woven articles.

After feasting, the hosts will honour guests by gifts in an oʻora, or ‘akakouʻanga, or ‘akapāreuʻanga, which is a showy presentation by women (or the female relatives of the wedding couple) of the gifts made by their hands. The women hold up the gifts which they have made – mats, hats, baskets, or tivaivai – and deposit gifts in the guests’ laps, place hats on their heads, drape them in tivaivai, or place items before the guests on the mat upon which they sit.

At ‘ārikiʻanga nowadays, people use steel and wire trays to cook the food, aluminum foil to cover and wrap it, and metal, glass, and plastic bowls, as well as plastic bags, to contain or carry it and serve it. They use plastic mats, imported hats, and store-bought coverlets and quilts as gifts.

Will lack of ‘ārikiʻanga articles handmade on site by the hosts and their supporters, or the fact they do not come from the surrounding natural environs, weaken ties between families, friends, and communities? Society (on Rarotonga, at least) is less homogeneous than it was. The large weddings and hair cuttings of yesteryear, for which invited guests could number up to 1,000 people, are less likely to happen today. Attitudes have changed for reasons of economy in a

society that has changed from an agrarian and semi-subsistence based one to one that is more cash-based.

THE FUTURE

Today, most weaving takes place on the less developed islands. On Penrhyn, Manihiki, Palmerston, Pukapuka and Rakahanga in the northern group, women still weave hats, purses of rito, and large pandanus mats for gifts and for sale. On Atiu, Mangaia, Mauke and Mitiaro in the southern group, islanders weave little else besides pandanus flax baskets and mats. Throughout the islands, people continue to weave kikau mata (unprocessed kikau) baskets but to a lesser degree than 10 years ago. To the extent fine weaving survives on Rarotonga, women of the northern group who live there generally keep the art alive.

Women traditionally stored a collection of the hats, mats, and other crafts they had woven to use as gifts for visitors, weddings, and hair-cuttings. This was commonplace in the outer islands until about 20 years ago. People have turned progressively toward imported synthetic mats, hats, bags, etc, which have become cheaper and are available all year round in shops. Some natural items decay faster and are more easily damaged if not looked after properly. Long-term preservation of natural fibre items has always been a problem in the tropics due to insects and mould.

In the past 10 years, the art of mat-making has rapidly declined, largely due to imported plastic mats from Korea and China and similar natural fibre ones from the Philippines and Indonesia. Asked why they import foreign crafts, retailers invariably respond that demand exceeds supply or local supply is irregular. Obviously, the market exists, but the crafts do not.

Pandanus mats have now become more expensive, therefore more highly valued, because they are more difficult to obtain. And they have noticeably got smaller in size. Fewer Cook Islanders know how to weave, and even those who do have other time commitments. Older weavers have passed away, and many Cook Islanders have emigrated to New Zealand and Australia. The outer islands, where the art was largely practised have become depopulated. Either young people are not interested, or too few weavers have time to share their knowledge.

Most importantly weaving's contribution to social cohesion has all but gone. The reducing size of woven articles, particularly mats, symbolizes the triumph of individualism over the collective. Whereas mat-making was once a group activity amongst women, it is no longer. Woven articles today are primarily produced for personal commercial return. They are no longer the glue that brought people together in a ceremony of giving.

Changing social values and increasing educational opportunities mean young people are less likely to take up this kind of work. Some young people might not wish to subject themselves to the authority of an elder teacher. The materials can take weeks to prepare, from gathering raw materials in the bush to processing the materials in preparation for weaving. The work is time consuming and repetitive: the student has to repeat patterns and processes until s/he meets the teacher's standards. Weaving requires dedication, passion for tradition, appreciation of customs, and desire to manifest a link to the past.

Māori women first learned in the 19th century from missionaries' wives to make European-style hats substituting straw and ribbon with young coconut leaf, pandanus and other materials such as kaka'o reed (Mangaia), which were found locally. More recently, Cook Islanders, particularly those living overseas, have found substitute materials for their crafts: plastic bags, satin ribbon, raffia, straw, phormium flax, and plastic packing strips. In New Zealand, university graduates of Tongarevan descent are starting to use tifatara (tiputa) as part of their graduation costumes (Tarani Napa, pers. comm., 2014), showing their growing awareness of and interest in their cultural connections.

The future looks bleak indeed for weaving in the Cook Islands. Perhaps, we will see only remnants of this art in beautifully crafted items in museums overseas, which have more funds, thus better resources, to take care of the crafts and ensure their survival into the future.

FIGURE 29
Plastic packing strip baskets made by Cook Islands women living in New Zealand (photo: Jean Mason).

FIGURE 30
An unusual purse in a half moon shape, from Penrhyn, made from multicoloured rito (photo: Jean Mason).

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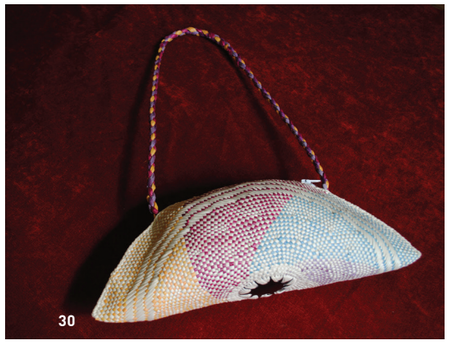
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FIGURE 31
A Mauke woman removes thorns and midrib from a rau'ara (pandanus leaf) in preparation for braiding together, before drying in the sun (photo: Lawrance Bailey).

31

E akamarokura ia koe	Girdle yourself
ki te kōrero no te Atua	with the gospel of the Lord
E mou i taau ta'iri'iri	take hold of your fan
Te ta'iri'iri o te au	the fan of peace
E pare ia koe	Crown yourself
ki te pare o te aro'a	with the crown of love
kia ariki koe i toou ora'anga	so you may be lord of your life.

In this poem, Kauraka Kauraka (1951-1997), a Cook Islands writer and poet, exhorts people to 'clothe' themselves in the word of God, which he likens to the ceremonial wear of chiefly investiture. In so doing, one becomes like a chief – carrying oneself with quiet strength and dignity, the qualities of leadership and personal conduct so admired by Māori in the past.

The poem alludes to woven articles of clothing. Marokura (red feathered girdle) and pare(kura) (red feathered head dress) are the symbols of high status in traditional Cook Islands society. Both items have a woven base. A girdle and crown decorated with bird's feathers also signified high status, for to wrap the body in feathers was to liken it to the feathered bodies of the gods. In days past, chanting during the creation of these garments imbued them with mana (power, prestige). Very often the genealogy of the owner of the garment was chanted, capturing it and its protective power in the knots of the garment's foundations.

A ta'iri'iri (fan), especially a large fan, completed the ensemble of a chief. In everyday life, commoners used small fans made from unprocessed kikau or unadorned pandanus, while the more ornately handled and finely woven fans were reserved for the nobility.

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"The night sky is a basket, the stars are the fish fallen from it."

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GLOSSARY

ʻakaīpoīpo	marriage
akakoʻu	to wrap around-normally used in the context of wrapping gifts (i.e., textiles) around a person at a celebration as a form of gift presentation
ʻakamataʻanga	the start
ʻakapāreuʻanga	to wrap textiles around a person during gift presentations
ʻakaparuparu	soften, tenderize, weaken
ʻakatikatika	to straighten
ʻakatu ʻare	to build a house
ʻakaūruūruʻanga ariki	chiefly investitures
ʻānauʻanga	birth
ʻangaʻanga	the work process
ʻāngota	expeditions to collect shellfish and crabs from the reef and shore
aniu	the rib of a coconut frond, tongs made from the frond ribs for use in a ground oven
ʻano	a coastal tree *(Guettarda speciosa)* now rare on Rarotonga
āpuka or tāpora	a disposable food basket made of woven coconut fronds (Rarotongans no longer use the term tāpora)
ʻara ʻāmoa	a variety of pandanus used to make coarse mats *(Pandanus whitmeeanus)*
āraūnga	"crab tracks" – a weaving pattern
ʻare rau	pandanus leaf house
ariki	chief
ʻāriki	loose leaf coverings; covering used for floors, furniture and umu (ground oven)
ʻāriki'anga	a word whose wide meaning includes welcoming, accepting, holding a reception, and covering a table with a tablecloth
ʻāriki'taʻua	floor coverings
ata	"heart" (suit of playing cards), a weaving pattern
ʻati'ati rauʻara	snap or break off the pandanus leaf
ʻau	beach hibiscus *(Hibiscus tiliaceus)*
Au Vaʻine	women's collective
ʻaute	paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)* from which tapa (bark cloth) is made
ava	banyan tree *(Ficus prolixa)*
ei ūpoko	a head wreath
hare pehu	mourning house (Tongareva)
ʻie	sail (Ngaputoru)
i'i	Polynesian chestnut *(Inocarpus fagifer)*
ʻīnaki	a fish trap woven from roots or lianas
ʻiri	plait, braid, twine
ʻiri	dark red juice from the candlenut tree
ʻiri'iri	plaiting
ivi	"ribs" of a basket
kaʻa	sennit, rope made from coconut husk fibre
kaʻi	a type of mussel, shell *(Asaphis violescens)*
kaiʻara	aerial roots of the pandanus
kaihara	aerial root of the pandanus (Tongareva)
kakaʻo	a tall perennial grass with a cane-like stem and feathery terminal panicles *(Miscanthus floridulus)*
kakaʻu	cloth, personal clothing
kakaʻu moe	bedding
karamarama	"windows" (Ngaputoru)–a weaving pattern
keketa	a vine *(Vigna marina)*
keke	saw, amputate
kete	basket
kete pāpā (or kete paraʻaraʻa)	basket made from pandanus without the use of a shaping mould
kete tāpoki	basket with lid
kie	sail
kiekie	*(Freycinetia wilderi)* the aerial roots are used to make fish traps
kikau	coconut leaf; frond
kikau mata	green kikau or coconut palm leaves
kiriʻau	bark fibre of the 'au (beach hibiscus, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
kōviri	a type of bordered mat, with patterns at the long ends
kua rau	ready for harvest
kumete	wooden bowls
kupenga	fishing net
maire	"fern"–a weaving pattern
maka puaka	pig-tethering rope made from kiriʻau
makatea	raised formation of dead coral found around the coast of some islands
maki vaʻine	menses
mana	power, prestige
manurua	"two birds"–a weaving pattern
manutaʻi	"sea birds"–a weaving pattern
maro	a loin cloth. There are variations of the tie called maro ta, maro puiri, maro kutekute, maro tui, maro pakaku, maro renga pua, maro peipei, maro tikoru, maro purekau, and maro takataka. Many of the meanings of these ties have been forgotten.
maro itiki	a tied loin cloth
maro kura	girdle ornamented with red and yellow feathers, generally worn by ariki
maro piri	a tightly tied loin cloth
maro rau ti	a loin cloth made of *Cordyline* leaves
maro takataka	a loin cloth made from sennit, placed on a deceased body of an ariki or chief
matakere	"black eye"–a weaving pattern
Mata-ono	Pleiades
mati	dyer's fig *(Ficus tinctoria)*
moenga	woven floor mats, bedding
moenga pae	sleeping mats, bordered mats of which there are two types – kōviri, which has patterns at the long ends only and paretumu, which has all four borders of the mat decorated
mouranga/tātai	handle
ngaika	coral lime
niʻo	*teeth*
niʻo mangō	"shark's teeth"–a weaving pattern
niʻoniʻo	"toothed"–a weaving pattern
noa	ordinary
nono	a small tree *(Morinda citrifolia)*
oʻini	a small, oval kikau basket with a handle plaited from the leaf.
oʻora	dowry, mats, tapa, etc. displayed and presented at the wedding reception
oraua	a variety of mat made in ancient times
oringi	a fisherman's basket, it can be oblong or round in shape
ʻōrongā	a shrub or small tree *(Pipturus albidus)*
paaro	to stroke, comb, smooth down, flatten
pae	the border of mats
paenono	black material from the 'trunk' of the mountain banana (*Musa troglodytarum)* used to create decorative designs in mats only (Savage 1962:219)
paka ʻonu	carapace of the turtle
paka ʻonu	"turtle shell"–a weaving design
pākau aroʻa	gifts

> ***Today, most weaving takes place on the less developed islands.***

pākau rangaranga	woven items
pākoko	tapa (bark cloth) made from ava (banyan) and ʻaute (paper mulberry).
pākoti rouru	hair cutting ceremony
pāoro	to stroke, comb, smooth down, flatten
papa-roa	a long slab of wood, with one side slightly rounded, on which mats were woven
papavaro/varo	“sea centipede”–a weaving pattern
ʻpāpetitoʻanga	baptism
parau	pearlshell, used as a decoration in hats, fans and purses
pare	crown, headdress, hat
parepare o te ra	“setting sun”–a weaving pattern
pare taumata	sun visor woven from kikau
paretumu	a type of fine mat (moenga) with decorative borders (pae) on all four sides
pāreu	waist and hip wrap
pare ukarau	sun hats, woven from kikau
parua	cape worn over the shoulders
pātoe	to remove midribs of the rauʻara leaf
peti	“spade” (suit of playing cards)–a weaving design
peʻu	ʻau (beach hibiscus) leaves woven together for umu (ground oven) coverings
peʻu (also called rautao or tāpoki)	woven ʻau leaf coverings for umu (ground ovens)
pia Māori	native arrowroot *(Tacca pinnatifida)*
purau	ʻau *(Hibiscus tiliaceus)* (Mauke)
pingoʻi, piringoʻi	tongs made from the midrib of a coconut frond
piʻoro	shredded banana trunks spread on an umu (ground oven) for the purposes of moderating the heat before adding the food
pirita	native jasmine *(Jasminum didymium)* used in basket making
pītōrēa	willow primrose *(Ludwigia octovalvis),* a swamp plant
poʻini	a style of woven fishing basket
poʻo	sides, here the sides of a basket
poʻo avata	rectangular wooden box used as a shaping mould for baskets
pōtaka	to roll
punu	tin, metal tool used to split pandanus leaves
putaʻiriʻiri	fan handle
ra	sun, an old word for kie or sail
rākei ʻakaūruūruʻanga	ceremonial costumes
rangakau	woven wall screens
rangokere (also called āpuka aniu)	a type of basket strengthened by keeping the aniu (frond rib) thick and intact at the top of the basket and the leaves woven inside out. When it is needed for use, the aniu is split open.
raranga	weave, weaving
rauʻara	pandanus leaf *(Pandanus spurius)*
rauʻara paeōre	*(Pandanus spurius)* (Tongareva)
rauʻara tai	*(Pandanus tectorius)*
raurau	small basket or platter woven from coconut leaves, used mostly to hold food, or as food trays, disposable
rau ti	a shrub *(Cordyline fruticosa)*
renga	turmeric *(Curcuma domestica)* the outer skin
rito	fibre made from immature coconut leaves
ruru	“bundle”–a weaving pattern
taimana	“diamond”–a weaving pattern
taʻiri, taʻiriʻiri	fans
taʻiriʻiri	“fan”–a weaving pattern
taʻiri kura	sacred crimson fan, used like a sceptre by ariki
takirua	a 2/2 twill, with two warp threads crossing every two weft threads
takitaʻi	the one under, one over weaving technique common to all weaving
tāmaka kiriʻau	sandals made from kiriʻau
tamanu	a tree, island mahogany *(Calophyllum inophyllum)*
tangata ʻtuʻoro	person who performs a traditional welcome chant
tangata kapiki ʻtiʻoroʻoro	person who performs a traditional welcome chant
tanuʻanga mate	funerals, burials
tapakau	ordinary sitting mats, disposable mats made from kikau
tāpora	basket roughly woven from one side of coconut frond which has been split down the mid rib (aniu) to form the rim of the basket
tapu	sacred, holy, forbidden
tapuae mokorā	“duck’s footprints”–a weaving pattern
taputu ʻare	woven roofing panels
taravana	“sea-urchin spines” or “crazy”–a weaving pattern
taro ʻāmoa	pink taro *(Colocasia esculenta)*
taro veo	golden fleshed taro *(Colocasia esculenta)*
tātua	wrap, sash
tātua kopu	girdle, waist mat
tātua ūmaūma/ tātua mokotua	chest wrap, back wrap, sash
taura	twine, rope
tauraki ki te ra	to dry in the sun
tere party	travelling group
tifatara	poncho, overshirt made from pandanus or rito (Tongareva)
tiputa	poncho, overshirt
titi	woven waist band
tivaivai	traditional quilt
tō	the kakaʻo reed *(Miscanthus floridulus)* (Mangaia)
toa	ironwood tree *(Casuarina equisetifolia)*
toʻe	crown of a hat; wooden mould for a woven hat, carved the desired shape from tamanu (island mahogany, *Calophyllum inophyllum*) or tou (*Cordia subcordata*) wood; keel, bottom, in this context the base of a basket
tona	sores or spots; disease
tou	coastal tree *(Cordia subcordata)*
tuitui	candlenut tree *(Aleurites moluccana)*
tumu kōrero	cultural expert
tupe	a roll or coil of pandanus (usually around 30 leaves)
tutaka	annual inspections of Cook Islands homes carried out by Au vaʻine and the Health Department since the early 1900s, prior to that by missionaries
umu	ground oven
ūtū/veʻi	the mountain banana *(Musa troglodytarum)*
vaʻa	mouth or opening, here of a basket
vaʻine-tini	women’s handicraft-making groups
vairanga kai	food container
vaka	canoe
vaka katea	voyaging canoe with one hull shorter than the other
vaka moana	ocean-going canoe
vaka taurua	double hulled voyaging canoe
vaka tietie	canoe with kikau sails (Manihiki)

Chapter Fourteen

HATS
THE CREATION OF A TRADITION

Joan Gragg

Many women consider weaving a skill and an occupation from which they can sustain a lifestyle and earn a living. The tradition of weaving household items and roof thatch was once part of the training for everyone in villages throughout the Cook Islands. The knowledge of weaving has created skills where natural materials from the environment and imported materials allow weavers to adapt to new ideas and make new crafts (see also Mason, this volume).

The coconut tree is referred to as the tree of life. Every part of the tree is used, for food, shelter, fuel, cosmetics, and decoration. Many traditional crafts use parts from the coconut tree. Rito is prepared from the young fronds of the coconut tree. Rito hats and fans are known as Cook Islands handicrafts. Manihiki women first learned to prepare rito about 1897 when the technique of processing coconut fronds and weaving a rito hat was inadvertently introduced from the Gilbert Islands, now known as Kiribati. This story, of the introduction of rito hat making, was told to the writer by someone who was there.

MAMA TOKA'S RITO HATS

Mama Toka was the first woman to make a rito hat in the Cook Islands. She was the eldest daughter of Repaio Rahi and Munokoa Papaa of Manihiki. Ketia was her younger sister, followed by brother Ioaba, and sisters Patiki and Toreka. In the Cook Islands, grandchildren call their grandmothers and grandfathers Mama or Papa. Grand aunts and grand uncles are also known as Mama or Papa. Our grandmother, Mama Ketia, told us stories of growing up in Manihiki and Mama Toka's hat.

Visiting Manihiki and Rakahanga in 1855, Cook Islands missionary Maretu established Christianity (Maretu 1983:161). The Repaio Rahi children were born from 1883 to 1887. They were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and sewing in the missionary school. They learnt to read the Cook Islands Māori Bible and to write in Māori. Mama Ketia could remember pages of the Bible by heart. At home, they learned the legends, chants, and pe'e (local hymns) that told of their ancestors. She told us stories of the olden days and chanted and acted ancient legends.

Many women consider weaving a skill and an occupation from which they can sustain a lifestyle and earn a living. The tradition of weaving household items and roof thatch was once part of the training for everyone in villages throughout the Cook Islands.

Ketia was very proud of her sister Toka because she was innovative and a skilled weaver. Around 1897, when they were teenagers, a woman from the Gilbert Islands came to live in Manihiki. Ketia called her a Kiribati woman. The woman brought with her a hat made of rito (white coconut frond) that she wore to church. It was the most beautiful hat the girls had ever seen. She made another hat just as beautiful but did not want to show anyone how she made it. Toka, however, watched her every move and studied the hat whenever she had the chance. She talked with her mother and sisters about the possibilities of preparing the materials and weaving a hat like the Kiribati woman's hat. Toka finally decided to make a hat, prepared the materials, and wove her own. Most of the population did not know who had made the hat. They accused her of stealing the hat and copying it. To settle the dispute, the community compared Toka's hat with the beautiful hat made by the Kiribati woman and found that, although it was similar, Toka had started differently and the pattern in the weaving was distinctly her own. From then on, Toka taught all the women who wanted to learn how to prepare the rito and to weave a hat.

Toka married Isaia, and they became missionaries for the London Missionary Society (LMS). In their travels around the Cook Islands and to Papua New Guinea, Toka taught women to cook atoll food, to sew, and to prepare rito and weave hats, so they could earn their own living. Mama Toka eventually went blind because of a genetic condition, but she continued to weave. Even today wherever they go, the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC) women have taught other women how to prepare rito and to weave hats and fans.

MAMA TOKA'S GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER

I was talking to Tarani Napa one day in her shop, Tarani Crafts and Pearls, in Avarua, Rarotonga, about Mama Toka being the first Manihiki woman to make a rito hat when she told me about a talented weaver who sold hats and fans to her. Her nickname was Mahimahi. Mahimahi, meaning jellyfish, is a nickname used for the children of Repaio Rahi. This was a surprise to me because I had not met her at the Repaio Rahi Family reunion held in 2007 on Rarotonga. I had met her brother and two of her sisters; their family branched from Papa Maroroa, one of

FIGURE 1
A mama wears her rito hat in the Cook Islands Christian Church, Arorangi. The hat has a black-lipped pearl shell crocheted into the crown, coloured flowers sewn onto the crown, and a brim finished with a zigzag weave (photo: Joan Gragg).

Mama Toka's sons. Mahekura Tangimetua (her real name) had not attended the reunion because her husband had recently passed away.

Tarani told me how Mahekura has followed in her great-grandmother Toka's footsteps. She was brought up on Rarotonga and learnt to weave from her mother Oioi and grandmother Vaiari. They were talented weavers from Penrhyn, who were taught the craft of rito preparation and weaving by their mothers, who were taught by Mama Toka's generation of missionary women.

Mahekura married Vaipeka Tonitara and together they attended the Takamoa Theological College, originally established by LMS missionaries. They travelled in the Cook Islands as CICC missionaries. Their mission work took them to Manihiki as missionaries from 2003 to 2006. At the time, very few women were weaving in Manihiki because pearl farming, sports, and housie (similar to bingo) were taking up time that formerly had been used for weaving. Mahekura used her talents to teach women weaving and sewing as part of their mission work.

Mahekura has three daughters and two sons. Her daughter Tongakura expressed their enjoyment in weaving, especially when they have an order to fill and the pressure is on. As part of their training, each person learns one job at a time. As they learn more, their tasks change. Tongakura is still learning to weave a fan. She puts the rito in the holes of the polished mother-of-pearl shell then passes it to her older sister Pamoa, who weaves the next stage. Their mother Mahekura weaves the patterns in the body of the fan before passing it back to Tongakura to finish. A hat has a similar rotation through the family. Mahekura looked at her daughter and said that sometimes her girls make excuses why they cannot help. A mother talks this way about the girls of whom she is proud. Although Mahekura is going blind from the same genetic condition that blinded her great-grandmother, she carries on the tradition of creatively weaving new designs and styles continuing their proud heritage.

THE HAT-MAKING PROCESS

The raw material from coconut fronds that Mahekura uses in her weaving comes from Manihiki and Penrhyn because the rito on Rarotonga is not as good as the rito from the northern islands. Northern rito is longer and stronger, which is why long white fronds can be seen being unloaded from the interisland ships arriving from the north. Relatives cut the fronds in Penrhyn and Manihiki for their families on Rarotonga. Mahekura's family work together to process raw material into rito when it arrives. They have several weeks to process the rito before it spoils. The youngest daughter Ilima is the best at preparing and cooking the rito. When I asked her how they dried the rito after preparation, she replied, "On a bed, like a baby." This is the kind of care and respect that is taken for rito.

Tarani Napa, who is from Penrhyn, did her apprenticeship in rito preparation and confirmed that a good weaver is held in highest esteem in the northern Cook Islands. Young girls begin their weaving apprenticeship by cutting and preparing the new coconut frond to make rito for their mothers and grandmothers. They learn to cut the frond from the crown of the coconut tree without killing it. They cut a few fronds every day after school for five days, then they spend a whole day with their mentors processing the rito. The leaf is stripped from the frond and the rib stripped from the leaf. Using a small knife, a cut is made at the thin end of the leaf to separate the membrane (translucently thin layer) from the leaf so the membrane can be stripped from the leaf. It is then boiled before laying it out

to dry. Once it is dry, it is sorted into different lengths and qualities. Dried rito curls, so it has to be straightened before it can be used to weave. (Rito titiri, or throw-away rito, used to be discarded as waste but is now used for hats of coarser weave.) When a girl can do all of this work, she is allowed to begin weaving. She begins by weaving a fan.

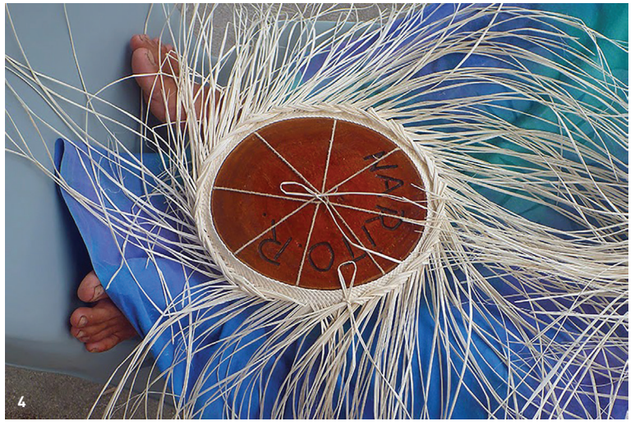
Tarani said that she can weave a really beautiful fan, but she had just started to learn to make a hat when she had to leave Penhryn to come to school on Rarotonga. She admitted that she is not a good weaver of hats and her status in Penrhyn is diminished because of it. Tarani loves and appreciates the work, skill, and devotion that goes into weaving a hat and ardently promotes rito hats and handcrafts. Today, girls in Penrhyn still learn to cut and to prepare rito and to weave. Penhryn women have creatively incorporated pearl shell into their hat design, structure, and decoration. Tarani believes that Manihiki women are the most creative weavers. The few women who still weave can make a reasonable living because buyers are willing to pay more for such a hat. However, weavers do not have enough hours in a day to earn a lucrative living.

Women weave hats on wooden blocks shaped for the crown of the head. These blocks are the valued possessions of a weaver. Mahekura has her mother's and grandmother's blocks and some made by her husband. She said that before her husband died, when someone asked to borrow her block, she lent blocks made by him, but now she does not lend them as she wants her daughters to treasure them as part of their heritage.

Weavers are often asked how long it takes to weave a hat. Excellent weavers take many years to perfect their craft. A top weaver can finish a hat in a minimum of four days if she weaves throughout the daylight and breaks only to eat or to rest for a few minutes at a time. She needs the support of the whole family in order to do this. Of course, sustaining this pace for long is not possible, and only the best weavers who have been weaving for many years are able to maintain a high standard. Weaving a really beautiful hat, in which the tension of the weave is even, takes concentration, patient training, and years of practice.

FIGURE 2
A woman separates the rib from the leaf of the frond. She will then use a knife or needle to cut through the thin membrane of the leaf and peal the rito off before boiling it in clean water (photo: Dave Kane, http://www.ecosailingcharters.com/2013/02/te-tautua-village-penrhyn-atoll.html).

FIGURE 3
Tauariki prepares to sort rito into grades (photo: Joan Gragg).



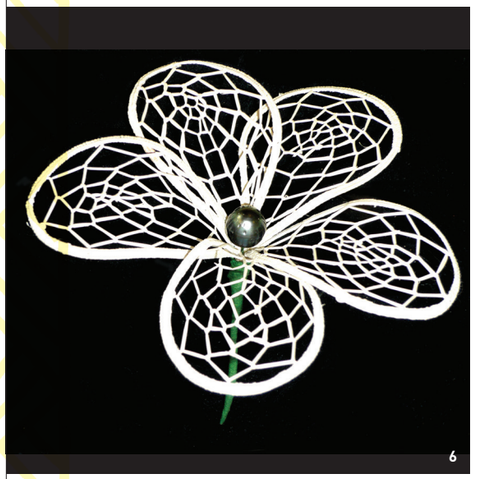


FIGURE 4
A hat being woven around a hat block mould. The crown of the hat is finished and the weaving of the brim can now be started. The crown is finished on the reverse (photo: Patrick Dayshaw and Kirsten Rohrbach, http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-4m1LfEQx_x4/UmXpcXzwL0I/AAAAAAAAErU/2z2fBFexknQ/s1600/Palm+Frond+Hat+Mold.jpg).

FIGURE 5
A man's hat has a folded crown and cowry shell band, Tarani Crafts and Pearls, Avarua, Rarotonga (photo: Joan Gragg).

FIGURE 6
Penrhyn hats are often decorated with flowers crocheted from rito, incorporating a local black pearl, Tarani Crafts and Pearls, Avarua, Rarotonga (photo: Joan Gragg).

FIGURE 7
Rito hats with hat bands made from coloured pūpū shells displayed at the va'ine-tini (women's group) show, Tamarua, Mangaia, 14 September 2008 (photo: Taoi Nooroa).

FIGURE 8
The pearl shell woven into the hat crown is a Penryhn innovation. The crown has a lace like weave, and the rito on the brim is woven back over itself to make an upturned brim with a smooth finish. The decorative hat band is made of artificial flowers and feathers. The hat was a gift to Tinomana Tokerau from her Northern island family (photo: Joan Gragg).

Unfortunately, many experienced weavers have migrated to New Zealand and Australia. Very few of the migrants still weave, even though materials are available in Queensland, where most of them live. Penrhyn women are the main producers of hats at the time of writing. Although rito weaving started in Manihiki, its women produce fewer hats there because of changing lifestyles.

Different traditions of trimming or decorating the hats have evolved in the different islands. Penrhyn hats are decorated with flowers made from rito, which is readily available. Small, creamy coloured cowry shells adorn a man's hat and add weight, so the hat does not blow off in the wind. On Atiu, where women still make tapa (bark cloth), the women use it to make hat bands and flowers attached to the bands. Mangaia is famous for its pūpū (snail) shells. The women sew the shells, naturally yellow or toasted white, onto a backing. If they desire other colours, they paint them with house paint or clothes dye in whatever colour is available. They style these bands on a grid, in the same fashion that tivaivai taorei (piecework quilts) are planned (see Eimke, this volume). Tarani uses crocheted flowers made of crochet cotton that she buys locally, and wires a pearl in the centre of the flower. Bets Hackney, a granddaughter of Mama Ketia, lives in Hawai'i and trims her hats using natural and dyed pandanas and rito that her sister buys for her from Rarotonga. When she runs out, she can sometimes buy from a wholesaler in Hawai'i.

OTHER HATS OF THE COOK ISLANDS

Made of the stalks of kaka'o (a sugarcane-like plant), these hats from Mangaia (Fig.9) are hardly seen today. The lucky few who have these fragile, rarely made hats prize them highly. However, the technique of kaka'o hats has been transferred to ribbon hats. Ribbon hats are made in New Zealand and in the Cook Islands by women who do not have rito or kaka'o. Sometimes a community group gets together to weave hats for an occasion, like a tere (travelling party) going on a holiday. Weaving hats for gifts revives these old techniques for a short time. In 2000, a tere from Mangaia to Penrhyn took pūpū hat bands, pendants made from stalagmite (from the limestone caves of Mangaia) and other crafts from their natural environment for their hosts. Their hosts wove rito hats, fans, mats, baskets, and other local crafts, such as brooms, for their visitors.

Palmerston Island women weave hats differently from how women of other islands in the Cook Group weave hats. They prepare the rito similarly but start and finish a hat differently. Palmerston women undid a panama hat and worked out how to weave their hat. The difference is as recognizable as that between a Kiribati and a Manihiki hat. By looking at the inside of the crown, one can tell where the hat was made and sometimes by whom.

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CUSTOMS AND HATS

Cook Islanders are known to make the most beautiful hats in the Pacific, and they create new styles all the time. Rito hats are made in a variety of styles and colours for men, women, and children. Cook Islands people treasure rito hats for their beauty and their status.

They wear the hats to church, and in particular, white hats and white clothes on the first Sunday of each month. On Mitiaro, for example, it is not acceptable to wear a pandanus hat to church, but a rito hat is prized and can be worn into church. (Hats made of imported materials are also acceptable.) People wear hats for formal occasions, the opening of Parliament, funerals, weddings, and dress-up occasions when one has to look one's best. Hats are even worn everyday.

Hats are regarded as a gift of love when given on special occasions. Mothers will give their son-in-law or daughter-in-law a hat on their wedding day. A mother or grandmother will use a hat to crown a young boy at his first hair-cutting. Maria Henderson has treasured a hat that was given to her for the birth of her first child, Jennifer in 1953.

FIGURE 9
Once highly sought after, hats made from kaka'o on Mangaia are now hard to find (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 10
Weavers enjoy mixing colours because it gives variety to weaving and requires skill and concentration. The hat was a gift to Tinomana Tokerau from her Northern island family (photo: Joan Gragg).

FIGURE 11
Creative weavers attempt innovations that push the boundaries of weaving. This child's hat has a small crown and double brim, Tarani Crafts and Pearls, Avarua, Rarotonga (photo: Joan Gragg).

CONCLUSION

The determination of Mama Toka to make a hat using the knowledge of weaving she already had, made it possible for her to copy a new idea, to improve on it, change it, and make it her own. In her capacity as a missionary wife, she taught the women of her congregation to process coconut fronds and to weave hats. In turn, they taught women from other islands, providing a new opportunity for more women to incorporate materials that were familiar to them and to make the rito crafts their own. Over time, rito crafts took on particular cultural importance. Traditionally, a handmade item of a rito when gifted, is regarded as a gift of love.

Island lifestyles have allowed children to be part of the process of making rito articles. Lifestyles, however, are changing, and people contrast the work and time to make, and the money earnt for, rito crafts with other, more highly paid jobs. Perceptions of an easier life elsewhere have lured many families to migrate to New Zealand and Australia. On the bright side, Pacific Islands people who appreciate rito crafts for their artistic merits, beauty, attention to detail, and skill, are earning more money, can afford to buy the crafts, and so create a local market for those still weaving and making handcrafts. Is this the time for a new 15-year-old Mama Toka to emerge and to inspire the new generation to carry us on to another era using the knowledge of weaving?

FIGURE 12
Plaited hat of young coconut shoots, white, crown in decorative openwork, brim and top of crown in fine tight plaiting, two fans, and covered basket. This is a typical, classic, formal museum set, like Sunday best. Local taste would often choose colour for daily life (photo: Oc1994,03.24.a-bAN15529 © Trustees of the British Museum).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born on Rarotonga, Joan Gragg went to Avarua Side School and Tereora College. She won a scholarship to New Plymouth Girls High School, then attended Ardmore Teachers College, Auckland. She taught one year on Rarotonga and eight years in Australia. She worked at the National Film Unit as an accounts clerk, then she and her sister bought and ran a business in Wellington. On her return to Rarotonga, Joan became seriously interested in painting and designing jewellery with Cook Islands pearls and mother of pearl shell. She co-owned and established Beachcomber Ltd, a studio, show room, and boutique that fostered local art and craft. She is self-taught in drawing and water colour, and she studied oil painting at The Atelier with Snowdon Hodges in Hawai'i. She completed a Masters of Art and Design (First Class Honors) from Auckland University of Technology University in 2010.

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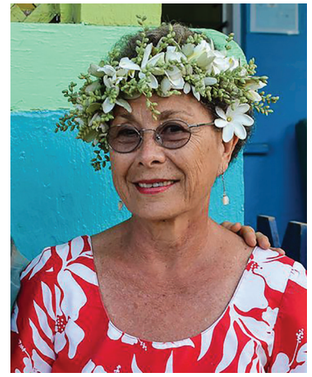

GLOSSARY

kaka'o	mountain reed, a sugarcane-like plant
mahimahi	jellyfish
pe'e	local hymns
pūpū rengarenga	yellow shoreline snail shells *(Orobophana pacifica)* used to make jewellery, hat bands, and other craft items
rito	strong, creamy-coloured fibre processed from a young unfurled coconut frond
tapa	bark cloth
tere	travelling party
tivaivai taorei	piecework quilt
va'ine-tini	women's group
CICC	Cook Islands Christian Church
LMS	London Missionary Society

"Traditionally, a handmade item of a rito when gifted, is regarded as a gift of love."

Section Five

ARCHITECTURE

The Same Village Under Christianity – Pukapuka or Danger Island. In Gill, William Wyatt. 1876. *Life in the Southern Isles.* London: Religious Tract Society. p.19.

Chapter Fifteen

COOK ISLANDS ARCHITECTURE
THE TRADITION

Jeremy Treadwell

In 1932, John McGruther, the New Zealand Government's Resident Agent for Mangaia, organized the construction of a large traditionally lashed and thatched 'are (house) in the garden terraces of the Residency at Oneroa. On its completion, McGruther wrote to Hugh Ayson, the Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands on Rarotonga, informing him of its construction and requesting its official inclusion into the property's list of chattels. In so doing, he was explicitly attempting to protect the house beyond his term of office and ensure its maintenance into the future (in Ayson to Smith 1933).

It was many years later that McGruther's daughter Jean Bell revealed her father's motivation to construct the house, "My father wanted it because all the old buildings were going and all the old crafts would have been lost. Father wanted all the old crafts incorporated in that building. Everything was plaited. Mats and sand were on the floor. He wanted everything to be purely island." Jean Bell described the craft of the interior, "Inside it was thatched. It was completely native. There wasn't a nail in the place. Father thought that after he died there wouldn't be any thing like that, it would all be nails and screws. All the beams were done with plaited coconut fibre and lashed in a pattern, decoratively lashed" (Bell 2004).

The motivation for McGruther's project to preserve Mangaian material culture can perhaps be found in the School of Māori Arts and Crafts established in New Zealand by the Māori Member of Parliament Apirana Ngata in 1926. Ngata's Government Act establishing the school was prompted by his recognition of the widespread loss of traditional Māori skills[1] (Brown 1999:108).

These attempts to preserve and even reconstruct the past are part of a familiar colonial story, conventionally expressed in colonial museums, a story which highlights the losses of traditional knowledge and material skills as a characteristic effect of colonial 'modernization.'

The loss of traditional architecture and its associated crafts is the starting point for this short discussion of Cook Islands building traditions. It is the apparent loss of the buildings and often the knowledge of how to build them that shift the search for information on these buildings into other disciplines such as archaeology, ethnology, and historical literature. In doing so, other losses become evident, such as the tactility that arises from materials and technology and the understandings that emerge from being able to visually assess buildings' relationships to the social and environmental contexts into which they were constructed.

Much of the early ethnological literature of the Cook Islands was written in the 1920s and 1930s and most of the discussions concerning buildings are prefaced with statements of loss and change within the tradition (Beaglehole 1938:109; Buck 1932a:70, 1932b:93). By the end of the 20th century, traditional architecture was all but unknown on many islands in the Cook group. This discussion of traditional Cook Islands architecture proceeds, by necessity, as a kind of exploration into an apparently absent architecture wandering between disciplines other than architecture and looking for clues and fragments in text and images.

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[1] *McGruther knew Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa and visited Ngata while on leave from his position as Resident Agent on Mangaia (see Ngata, Buck, Sorrenson 1986:49). Buck deputized for McGruther on Mangaia (December 1929 – April 1930), while the latter took furlough, permitting Buck to collect the data for his monograph* Mangaian Society *(1934).*

FIGURE 1
This 'are Mangaia stood at New Zealand's Government Agent Residence Garden, Oneroa, Mangaia. Daisy McGruther, wife of Resident Agent John McGruther, stands before the 'are, specifically built to preserve a record of traditional construction, c.1930s (photo: Clarke Mautairi Collection).

FIGURE 2
Interior of a pandanus roofed 'are under construction, Ka'umata, Mangaia, c.1954 (photo: D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 3
This open sided structure was known as a wale atua but over time became used for other purposes (Beaglehole 1938:117) (photo: c.1910, PA Coll-9599, Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22804990).

TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE COOK ISLANDS TODAY

In contemporary Rarotonga, it might appear that traditional architecture has been resurrected, not as an issue of authenticity or preservation, as for McGruther but as part of a touristic scenography in which any Pacific building, such as a Fijian bure (house) or Samoan fale (house), can come to stand as a Rarotongan ‘are, not in detail or even in form but as a part of the commodity of Pacific ambience. Among the problems with this commodification is the erasure of any real context by which such architecture might be understood. Topography, structure, orientation, and function all give meaning to architecture; their absence reduces the architecture to the object scenery of Pacific fantasy. The ready visibility of this tourist architecture further diminishes understandings of Pacific architecture to the caricature of the thatched hut.

Pacific peoples, including those of the Cook Islands, built a range of buildings of different sizes to suit different purposes: for family domesticity, for social occasions, for the dead, and for gods. These buildings were constructed into the context of large-scale landscape constructions — marae (religious structures). It was the marae that gave social and spatial context for life in this island environment.

Paradoxically, what the tourist industry almost got right in Rarotonga and elsewhere in the Pacific was its apparent conviction that the architecture of the Pacific is essentially interchangeable. While this never has been the case, it is now widely understood that Cook Islands and other island architectures are representatives of a wider regional, culturally and technologically distinct, Oceanic architecture. Furthermore, this architecture is characterized less by the enclosures and interior spaces of the West and more by a characteristic openness of space and form (Austin 2001:13-19).

Mike Austin, writing on Pacific architecture, observed that, instead of aggregating individual domestic functions under one roof as in Western architecture, in the Pacific these operations, like sleeping or cooking, take place in separate structures. Traditional Pacific architecture also has a tendency towards the openness of the world. This openness is in the building form and its materials but also in the orientation of the buildings to open space, such as on the marae or the lagoon.

Austin has also pointed out that Pacific buildings are technologically distinct from those of the West with particular configurations of structure and processes of construction. Pacific architecture is conceived and built around the structural figure of the central ridge pole and its supporting posts (Austin 2004:227). Western architectural structure, by contrast, tends to be dispersed to the enclosing exterior walls.

The inter-relatedness of Pacific architecture is further evidenced in the etymology of building names: where ‘are in the Cook Islands becomes hare, whare, fare, and fale in other island groups. Inside the buildings, posts are pou and ridge beams are tā‘ū‘ū. It is within this interrelated spatial, technological, and etymological context that Cook Islands architecture can be understood.

> ***Traditional Pacific architecture also has a tendency towards the openness of the world. This openness is in the building form and its materials but also in the orientation of the buildings to open space, such as on the marae or the lagoon.***

THE PLATFORMS

THE MARAE
THE SACRED AND COMMUNAL ARCHITECTURAL GROUND OF POLYNESIA

The marae in its various manifestations across the Pacific and Polynesia in particular can be seen as the site of traditional religious and cultural life, including that of settlement. The marae anchors any discussion about Pacific architecture.

The 19th-century arrival of the Christian missions, particularly on Rarotonga saw, after a tumultuous period, the marae and traditional belief systems displaced by Christianity and the large coral churches known throughout the islands (Sissons 2007:47-63; also this volume). Marae are now almost invisible in the island landscapes. However, we need to be aware that the marae were both the social and architectural centre of most Pacific Islands cultures.

Polynesians structured their social world around marae and organized it spatially. In this context, the inhabitable buildings of pre-contact Cook Islands architecture were generally assembled in relation to the collective space of the marae and in various ways built onto adjacent paepae (house platforms). In general terms, the marae was the arena in which the present intersected with the past, a past of gods and ancestors all of whom contributed to the events of the present.

Writing of the Society Islands, Douglas Oliver described marae investigated archaeologically as “consisting of courtyards and level ground” (1974:178). For Austin, the Polynesian marae in all its forms was conceptually a raised platform — an architectural formalization of the openness of oceanic life and its landscape

FIGURE 4
‘Are Rarotonga c.1900 shows the vertical reed walls that ‘breathed’ underneath multi-layered thatching (photo: c.1900 PA Coll-9597, Alexander Turnbull Library).

(Austin 2008). As such, it consistently structured the settings of other buildings and spaces in relation to that landscape.

Why were marae built? Marae functions, it seems, were as variable as were their formal arrangements and size. At one level, marae structured the most sacred and religious rituals in which relationships with resident god figures were transacted. But marae were also the sites of social and dynastic politics, where chiefs were inaugurated and lineages maintained through strategic alliances. At a more local level, marae were built to establish and confirm ownership of particular tracts of land. In this context, marae were often built near the territory's most important social boundary, to act as a "guardian of threshold" (Oliver 1974:193).

Matthew Campbell pointed out that while all marae of Eastern Polynesia maintained the clear ceremonial space, some were elaborated differently. Rarotongan marae had cosmological emphasis and variability, whereas Mangaian marae were more consistently similar and linked to a "highly unified political and religious system" (2002:158). Buck described a clear area immediately in front of Tongarevan dwelling houses, particularly the larger hare nui (big house) of the local chief, with that space operating as collective public space. He carefully distinguished it from religious ritual, which had a different space: "For religious purposes and the exercise of customs, the stone-enclosed marae was the assembly space" (1932b:93).

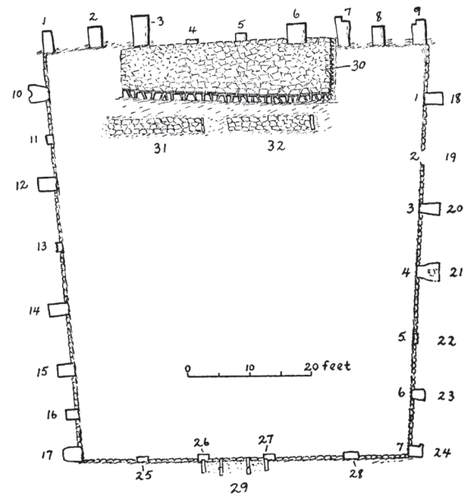

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FIGURE 39. Te Reinga marae: 1-9, pillars on back line, average space between pillars 5 feet 6 inches; 10-17, pillars on left side, average space between pillars 6 feet 6 inches; 18-24, pillars on right, pillar 19 missing, pillar 22 broken; 25-28, pillars of front line, very low, one being 11 inches high; 29, four rows of coral slabs set on edge at right angles to curb; 30, platform (height ranges from 22 inches on left to 23 inches opposite pillar 6 and 20 inches on right wall); 31, left pavement; 32, right pavement. Pillar 7 is notched on right (fig. 22, *b*, 3); pillar 9, notched on left (fig. 22, *b*, 2); pillar 10, curved median notch (fig. 22, *c*, 4); pillar 21, perforated (fig. 22, *c*, 5); pillar 24, simple flange.

FIGURE 5
Te Reinga Marae Tongareva. This marae follows the local format of close to square, or rectangular, pavements surrounded by squared or profiled pillars made of limestone. The raised platform at one end is thought to have housed an alter stone (drawing: Buck 1932b:175).

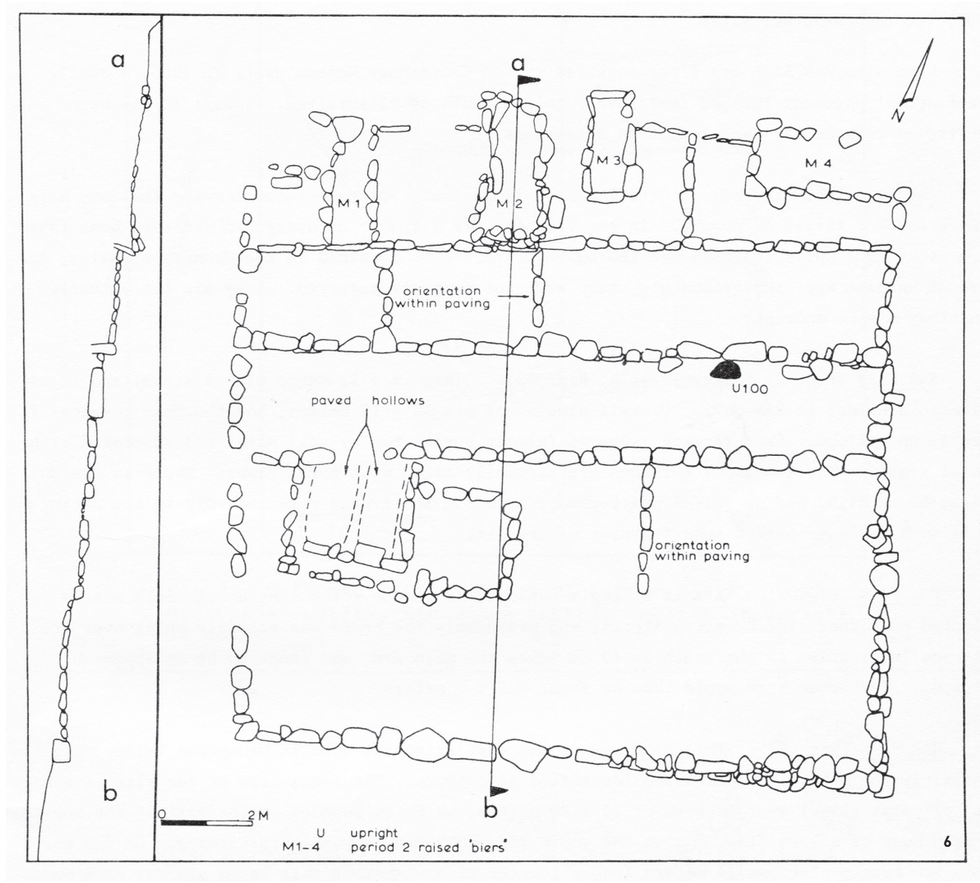
FIGURE 6
Marae – Rarotonga (drawing: Walter 1996: 66). This marae plan illustrates one of six marae types found on Rarotonga in the Maungaroa valley cluster. Marae were categorized by arrangements of features, such as terraces, pavements platforms, and stone uprights. Marae organization varied both within and between islands.

THE LOCATION OF MARAE

Archaeologists have sought to relate marae to many local circumstances and landscape features. Austin, however, saw marae as being connected to a specifically oceanic context:

In any case throughout Polynesia the marae and indeed all aspects of daily life revolve around the two directions of landwards and seawards. Associated with these directions are forces of good and evil . . . it is interesting to see these structures in relation to the landscape but probably more important is the fact that the structures organise and give significance to the landscape (Austin 2008:153).

Marae size may be one expression of this landward / seaward distinction in which the larger and more complex marae, while not invariably so, were usually closer to the sea. Richard Walter described some large coastal marae sites on Rarotonga as "ceremonial complexes," but the inland Maungaroa valley marae sites, although well formed, as "small" (1998:67, 74).



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Rarotonga's original inland encircling road, the Ara Metua, is a cultural landscape feature that structured the location of marae around the island and supported the ritual relations that operated between them. Derived from Rarotonga's original settlement, it is part of a symbolic landscape structure, and it makes visually coherent the radially organized tapere (island districts) and the disposition of the 47 original marae established on the island by Tangiia (Campbell 2002:148, 153).

Anthropologists, such as Oliver, have looked to relate the marae sites of the Society Islands to local resources, such as coastal promontories, sites adjacent to reef openings, or sites close to specific resources. It is apparent, from Oliver's examples, that land or sea orientation did not necessarily preclude sites being selected for their pragmatic and strategic adjacencies. However, marae were also associated (archaeologically) with housing sites, although in Tahiti the larger ceremonial marae were some distance from houses (Oliver 1974:183). On Atiu, extensive living terraces for houses were constructed immediately above the large Vairakaia marae.

THE FORM AND MATERIALITY OF MARAE

Despite the dense intractability of stone, there is considerable variation in the way it and coral were used in the formation of marae structures in the Cook Islands. Even within one island area, archaeologists have been able to differentiate at least six different marae types. In Rarotonga's Maungaroa Valley, "The marae are rectangular in form but differ widely in size with a range between 30 and 600 square metres (m^2) and averaging approximately $140m^2$. While most contain an area of stone-paved or coral strewn courtyards, others surround platforms or ahu and most contained one or more stone uprights" (Walter 1998:66). Within individual marae, these elements were formulated differently: some courtyards were delineated with precise alignments of worked curbstones; others used randomly sized elements. The raised platforms of the ahu were variously faced with coral slabs or round boulders. Similarly, the degree of terracing varied, as did the extensiveness of the stone paving.

In the Southern Group, there is further distinctiveness of marae types. Aitutaki marae did not have extensive terracing and pavement as in Rarotonga marae, but featured different configurations of standing stones, both in alignment and in small irregular enclosures.

Atiuans quarried coral slabs and used them to face walls and platforms of some of their marae. At Vairakaia, coral slabs were used to retain the edge of a large coral surfaced platform. The slabs extended above the top of the platform, and their edges were formed to represent human profiles. This recalls the relationship of the moai (giant statues) to the adjacent marae platform around the coast of Rapa Nui (Easter Island).

While this discussion of traditional marae has been in terms of stone and masonry, it appears that there were other layers and architectural elements of perhaps woven, thatched, or wrapped surfaces, which constituted the living experience of the marae. In the overthrow of the marae by the missions, these elements were consumed by fire, leaving bare platforms and standing stones. What these more ephemeral elements might have been will be considered below.

THE PAEPAE

While marae, in formal terms, can be seen as the opening up of social space within the landscape to support the social world, paepae can be seen as another tier of platforms, this time to formalize the space of dwelling.

Pae is the Cook Islands Māori word for a boundary or dividing line. In the whare Māori in New Zealand, the paepae is the heavy, often carved, board that separates the porch of the house from the world outside. The paepae in Cook Islands architecture forms the base for house structures and generally consists of a low rectangular arrangement of stone surrounding a pebble or stone floor (Walter 1998:73). The paepae, in its clearest expression, is a defined platform that forms the base of the house, although the nature of the paving and the living surface varies. Summarizing the archaeological expression of the paepae in the southern Cook Islands, Walter wrote,

Paepae . . . form the base for house structures and generally consist of a low rectangular alignment of stone surrounding a pebble or stone flooring. Paepae sites of this sort have been recorded on Rarotonga and Aitutaki and less formally defined but functionally equivalent features are also present on the other islands of the group (1998:79).

The paepae described by Buck at the old village of Nukunoni on Aitutaki was a rectangular area in front of the 'are marked out with large rectangular stones and divided by a central path. Buck described the paepae and the interior area of the house as being covered with kirikiri teatea (white coral gravel). The application of the white coral to the horizontal surfaces of house and paepae was 'e hakiro i hare' (to beautify the house) (1927:2).

Arranged along Tangiia's inland road on Rarotonga, the Ara Metua, are marae sites, wells, stone seats, and divisions of tapere land, all contributing to a connected political and symbolic landscape. Parts of this socially structured landscape are the T shaped paepae that articulate either directly or nearly so from the Ara Metua. Precisely defined paved paths (the shank of the T) form a ceremonial approach from the road to a rectangular plaza. Located around the perimeter of the plaza (the paepae proper) are stone seats formed with one large horizontal stone for seating and one similar inclined stone for the back rest.

Addressing these structures, archaeologist Roger Duff described the paepae as a koutu ariki (a court for the investiture of an ariki [chief]). The paepae was on the land of the head of the family and titleholder. The seats were for the ariki and mata'iapo (district and sub-district chiefs) from that family line. These precisely positioned stone seats articulated a political hierarchy, each seat and location an expression of relative status (Duff 1974:36-41).

This architectural representation of social position recalls a similar arrangement in the Samoan fale, in which the building's perimeter supporting posts also define seating positions, roles and status within the social group. On Rarotonga, the locating posts have been substituted with inclined stone back rests. In both cases, the political roles were transacted across the social surface of the paepae.

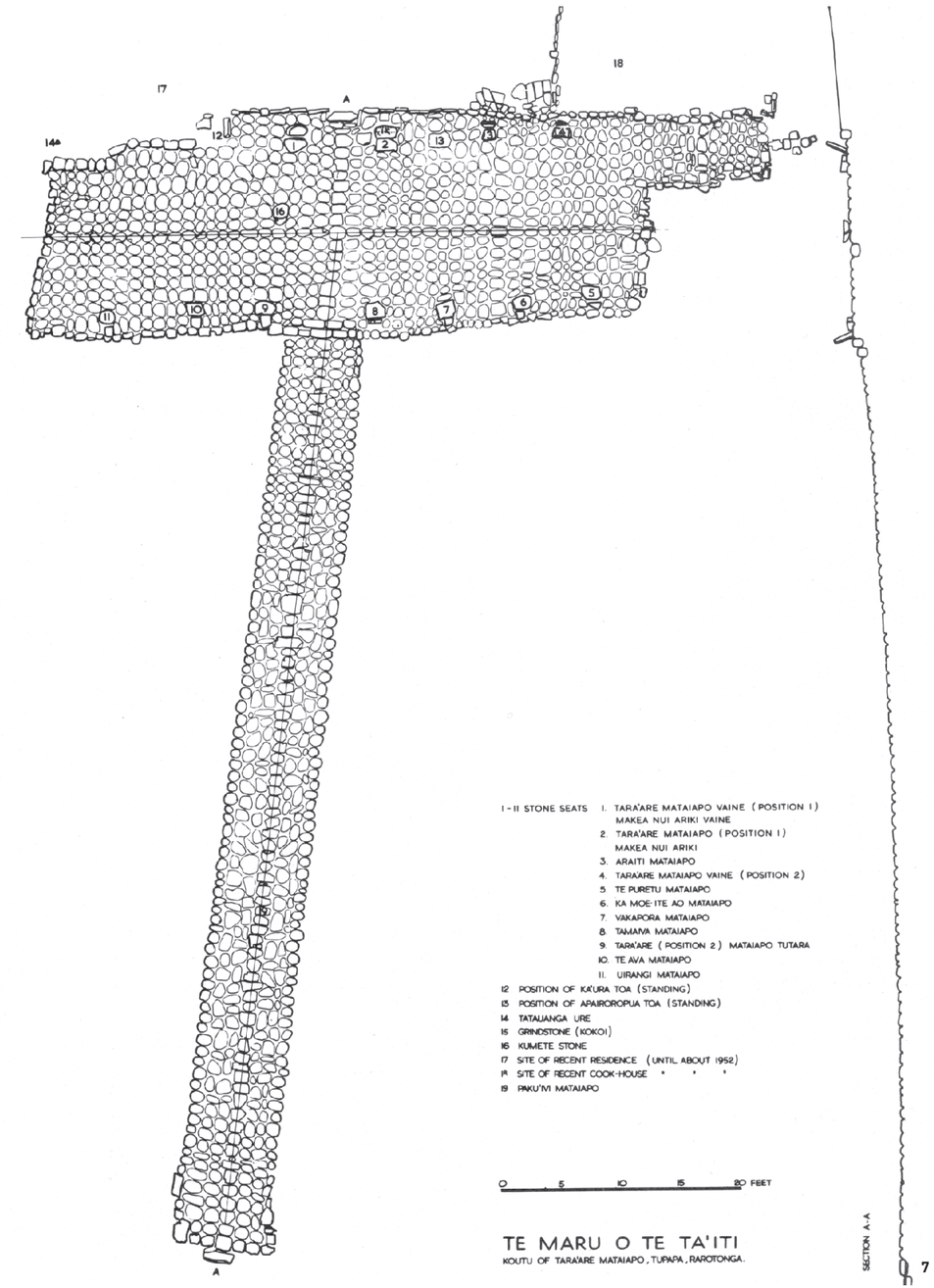

FIGURE 7
T shaped paepae, Te Maru o Ta'iti Rarotonga Koutu of Tara'are, mataiʻapo, Tupapa Rarotonga (drawing by Ken Mills, in Duff 1963: 39). This T shaped plan drawing shows an axial approach to a paved paepae building platform, the perimeter of which is distinguished by raised stone seats. This paepae was formally connected to the encircling road of prehistory, the Ara Metua.

there has been a tendency to see the Aitutaki 'are (as described by Buck) essentially as a Cook Islands–wide form. In this sense, the 'are Aitutaki has displaced understandings of regional variations and alternative construction processes.

THE BUILDINGS
THE 'ARE
SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Despite the pervasive influence of whitewashed missionary cottages and the verandahed timber houses of the colonial period, the traditional thatched 'are of the Southern group continued to be built late into the 20th century. This 'are is well documented as a building type (Buck 1927:1-5). A consequence of the documentation and persistence of the building in the Southern group has been a tendency to see the Aitutaki 'are (as described by Buck) essentially as a Cook Islands–wide form. In this sense, the 'are Aitutaki has displaced understandings of regional variations and alternative construction processes. It is also possible that the persisting visibility of the 'are has perhaps masked the disappearance of many of the other traditional building types in the Cook Islands, which are known largely from archaeological excavations, anthropological descriptions, and early 19th-century drawings.

The 'are as described by Buck in Aitutaki was a gabled building constructed around the ridge beam and its supporting posts in the characteristic Pacific arrangement. The names for these primary components are the same for the whare Māori: tā'ū'ū, pou, and poutā'ū'ū. The roof framework of the 'are was constructed as a regular lattice of increasingly light members which spanned between the rape (wall plate) and the tā'ū'ū (ridgebeam) in one direction and from front to back across the oka (rafters) in the other. The entire tua (roof) frame was constructed to extend beyond the end and side walls to support the thatching sheets that would shed the rain beyond the line of the walls.

It was, however, the requirement that the roof thatching keep out the rain that could be seen as the most technically demanding and complex of the traditional building processes. Weaving together fronds of either coconut or pandanus formed the long double thickness thatch sheets that would shelter the occupants from the rain. Buck's careful narrative and drawings of this process has ensured the survival of this knowledge for the future.

The walls of the 'are receive little discussion in Buck's account. He described how thin pandanus roots or hibiscus shoots were simply lashed vertically between the rapa and the ground (Buck 1927:31). The winding loops of sennit around each rod in turn created even gaps between them. In this way, the wall effectively became a screen, allowing the flow of air and partial views between the inside and the outside of the 'are. The solid walls of the missionary cottages were a rebuke to the openness of the 'are.

THE CHANGEABLE 'ARE

Although the 19th and 20th centuries brought increased inter-island travel, it is well understood that pre-history had periods of voyaging and exchange between island groups (Hau'ofa 1993). Architecture was one of those oceanic transactions. Buck records one example of architectural mobility — that the familiar 'are of the rectangular plan was a missionary adaptation of a preceding round version in Aitutaki whose origins may have been from the Samoa region (Buck 1927:38). In 1964, archaeologist R.H. Parker found evidence of a small round-ended house at Vaiakura on Rarotonga but proposed no date for its construction (Parker 1974:54-59).

More recently, Shawn Barnes and Roger Green proposed a Tongan origin for the Afolau form of the Samoan chapel (2008:23-49). The Cook Islands has many 19th-century examples of architecture migrating and changing with and without mission influence.

There is an interesting example of 'voyaging' architecture in a characteristically elevated Manihiki house built on Rarotonga around 1910. However, instead of its traditional elongated gable, the house has a square plan and hip roof (Fig.7). In this example, we see both the evolution and migration of the tradition.

THE 'ARE IN HISTORY

The reception of 'are in the West was in part driven by descriptions from such adventurers as E.H. Lamont (1867) and such missionaries as Aaron Buzacott (1866). It was not given much attention beyond the pragmatic and was not considered as architecture. Buzacott wrote:

The original native hut was merely a respectable shed; the tall posts, the ridge pole, and rafters constituted the entire frame work. The roof and sides were covered in with thatch made of palmetta leaf. One aperture of about four feet square served for door and window. The earthen floor was covered with a thick layer of hay; upon this, mats were spread; the mats served the double purpose of seats and beds (Buzacott 1866:211).

However, much more troubling to the missionaries than its apparently simple construction were the moral implications of the single interior space: "The whole clan lived and slept under one roof, old and young, men and women, herding together on mats, without even a screen to separate them" (Buzacott 1866:240).

Buzacott and the colonial culture that followed were to see the 'are as contributing to the 'heathen' culture that they saw as their mission to

FIGURE 8
'Fare Manihiki built at Ngatangiia, Rarotonga, c.1910. Outer islanders who relocated to the main island constructed 'are according to their own island methods, sometimes adapting the construction to local circumstances. Note the horizontal reed walls and the probable use of pandanus thatch on the roof. An 'are Rarotonga rests on the ground at the right (photo: PA Coll-9600, Alexander Turnbull Library).

civilize and modernize. The cottages to replace the ‘are were appropriately compartmentalized to preserve the ‘necessary’ decencies despite their retention of heat and obstruction to cooling breezes. The cottages were instruments of reform designed to replace the traditional ‘are, buildings that had evolved to support social life and to meet environmental needs.

What is less clear about the ‘are, as popularly understood, is the social and spatial context in which it might have traditionally been built. The Society Islands provided a possible model for its use and distribution. Oliver wrote,

A typical residential unit consisted of one or more dwellings and one or more cookhouses fare tutu and was surrounded by a low fence or by clearings or gardens. Nearby was a small ‘domestic’ marae identified exclusively with members of the residential unit. The residential units of some persons also included a large separate building that was used mainly for accommodating visitors (fare manuhiri, fare arioi)[2] (Oliver 1974:162).

Richard Walter’s excavation at Anai‘o on Ma‘uke revealed a similar loose configuration of houses and cooking shelters. “Anai’o was shown to be a small village or hamlet . . . in which household units are clustered, and the space between individual households comprise part of the everyday living and working area of community members” (Walter 1998:105). Where Oliver’s description emphasized the building types in the settlement, Walter’s commentary also provides insights into the way that the spaces between the buildings formed part of the living space of the settlement. The architecture extended beyond the edge of the buildings.

Julie Taomia has examined complexity in household organization in the Southern Cook Islands as revealed archeologically. While acknowledging that little could be found that was characteristically indicative of social organization, she presented evidence of variable physical structures and social uses particularly from those activities that left physical artefacts. She found that activities carried out on paved areas adjacent to some household buildings were sometimes shaded by additional roof structures (Taomia 2000:22).

[2] *fare tutu (cooking house), manuhiri (visitor), arioi (prestigious young people, performers)*

FIGURE 9
‘Are Mangaia under construction, c.1955. This is a large example but follows closely Buck’s description of ‘are structure on Aitutaki (Buck 1927:30). Note the prepared thatch material inside the framing (photo: D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

THE ‘ARE EXPERIENCE

Because colonial and missionary preoccupations with health and salvation tended to see only deficiencies in traditional architecture, the experience of inhabiting these buildings has been left largely unrecorded. However, more recent descriptions of other Pacific buildings suggest that a sensory dimension of Pacific inhabitation has been lost.

Bill McKay of the University of Auckland wrote of this experience in relation to another Pacific building: “The sense of vision dominates western architecture,” but the structure of a Samoan fale “re-awakens the senses to the whole body experience of the architectural interior. The effect of meticulously worked bindings gives an aura of highly crafted beauty that is not often encountered today” (in McKay & Walmsley 2005:67).

Anthropologist Margaret Rodman remembered the visually permeable nature of the woven bamboo house in which she and her family lived in Vanuatu, “I kept remembering how the house glowed at night. It glowed like a loosely woven basket sheltering a candle for indeed the house was made like a basket with walls woven out of split and softened bamboo . . . . the house twinkled through the warp and weft of the woven walls” (2001:4).

The interior of a maneaba (Kiribati meeting house) provoked a lyrical description of yet another version of this diffuse architecture: “the place held the cool gloom of a cathedral that whispered with the voices of sea and wind caught up as in a vast sounding box” (Grimble 1952:67). The ‘are as Pacific architecture is bound together in a material and visual complexity, a construction of multiple ties and interweavings.

FIGURE 10
Weaving the ridge cladding. “Arrangement of cocoanut leaves for plaiting the *tapatu* [ridging sheet](28). Plaiting the *tapatu* sheet. (29)” (Buck 1927:25-26).

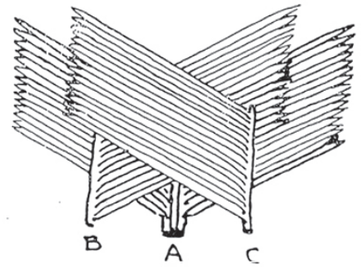

FIGURE 28.
Arrangement of cocoanut leaves for plaiting the *tapatu* ridging sheet.

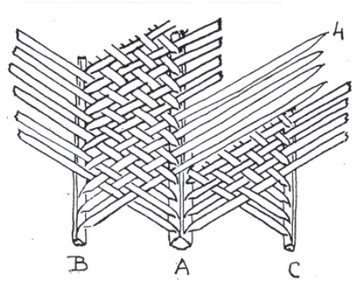

FIGURE 29.
Plaiting the *tapatu* sheet.

10

Buck carefully traced the turns and folds of coconut and pandanus leaves necessary to form the rain shedding thatching sheets and the ridge capping of the ‘are. His drawings and photographs of ‘are from the late 19th and early 20th century seem to confirm a solely functional intention of these woven surfaces, eschewing the ornamental potential of such geometries. The ‘are in these representations lack all exterior ornamentation or other expressions of identity. However, one drawing in missionary William Wyatt Gill’s (1894) *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* captioned “A Mat Hut in Mangaia” appears to show a repeating square motif woven across the front of a thatched ‘are. The drawing faces the first page of Chapter 1, which reads, in large type, “DARKNESS or INCIDENTS OF A SAVAGE LIFE.” The careful adjacency of image and title strategically links the ‘are to ‘savagery.’ The proliferating ornamentation and the rearing protuberant thatched roof can be seen as careful representation of primitive excess. The young women with her back to the viewer stares towards the house — the projected association of her ‘savage’ interior life within the house would be inescapable to the 19th-century viewer.

In the 1894 report of the Australasian Association of the Advancement of Science, Gill further described the square motif of the Mangaian house: “. . . squares were prettily worked in black sennit on the front and back sides of the dwelling” (W.W. Gill 1890:335). The Mangaian ‘are acquired geometricized surfaces beyond Buck’s functional weaving of roof thatches. The building was now both shedding rain and conveying meaning; it absorbed structural forces and mediated social relationships. This idea that construction occurred in the Cook Islands for both metaphorical and structural purposes has been discussed in relation to the ornamental use of sennit in the lashing of the house structure. Rod Dixon wrote,

A well thatched house, and by extension, a stable peace required structural and ritual lashing with the ‘sacred’ ka‘a (sennit). Ka‘a in both its practical and ritual manifestations was considered the means of strengthening and preserving a house, a canoe or adze and ritually and metaphorically, the state. In its ritual manifestations, the sacred ka‘a tied people to chiefs to gods in the same way as, in its secular manifestations it tied rafters to pillars and thatch to rafters (see Dixon, this volume).

> ***“The idea of a tradition as a stable and enduring practice, gives way to an idea of a building culture open to change and adaptation.”***

‘FARE MANIHIKI

Anthropologists tell us that the ‘are of Aitutaki were similar to ‘are of Rarotonga, Mangaia, and the other Southern islands. But Buck’s work on Manihiki and Rakahanga relates how this type of ‘are and the missionary cottage displaced a startlingly different building, a building that Buck described as the “original house type” on these atolls (Buck 1932a:70). This building differed significantly from the ‘are of the Southern group, and it was technically and conceptually distinct from other Polynesian buildings. The house operated vertically, with living and sleeping taking place on the ground beneath the body of the building, which was raised to standing height by four large posts. There were no walls at ground level, and lateral enclosure was achieved by eaves descending from the roof and by loose screen-like fences that could be put in place at ground level to reduce the breeze at night.

Buck described the raised floor as being used as a dormitory and as a storage space especially for mature coconuts. He recorded that in special houses set apart for the tribal gods, the bodies of dead chiefs were laid out on the high platform (Buck 1932a: 79).

This re-configuration of occupiable space in the ‘fare Manihiki was balanced by a significant structural change in which the ridge pole was no longer supported by vertical posts as is typical throughout the Pacific but by rafters and floor joists lashed together into a series of triangulated frames. The ‘fare Manihiki was built with the upper ends of its rafters half-lapped together at the apex and lashed to the ridgepole between them (Fig.13). The lower ends of the rafters are similarly

FIGURE 11
“A Mat Hut Mangaia” (lithograph from an original drawing, W.W. Gill 1894[1989]:16). It is hard to know what kind of licence the lithographer took in the translation of the original drawing. There are no known precedents for the multiplicity of surface textures indicated. The gable end treatment is different from that described by Buck.

FIGURE 12
Fixing the thatch on a Mangaian ‘are. Thatching proceeds from the bottom up and relies on multiple overlapping of thatch sheets. The angled structure in the foreground is an internal scaffolding (photo: D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

housed and lashed onto a floor plate. Horizontal forces were resisted by a brace lashed diagonally across the plane of the roof.

In 1938, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole recorded several different house types on Pukapuka used variously as storage, sleeping, or watch houses. The construction of these houses varied: one type was very similar to the Southern group ‘are, and there were two other versions of houses with elevated platforms, not dissimilar to the ‘fare recorded by Buck on Manihiki and Rakahanga. Only the “Wale wakayamoa” version lacked the ridge posts as on Manihiki and Rakahanga (Beaglehole 1938:110). The Beagleholes saw a technical lineage from the wale wakayamoa connecting back to the fale Samoa [probably the Fale Afolau] and attributed the name “Wale wakayamoa” to this historic connection.

Buck and the Beagleholes both speculatively proposed a historic influence on the architecture of the Northern and Southern groups of the Cook Islands from the Samoa region. Whether these influences were real or imagined, there is widespread general evidence of architectural ideas traversing the ocean and leaving formal and etymological traces. In this sense, the idea of a tradition as a stable and enduring practice gives way to an idea of a building culture open to change and adaptation.

These studies also show that, at that time of missionary and later colonial influence, the architecture of the northern atolls was still both varied and purposeful. But they also reveal evidence of the ‘ancient’ forms being displaced as the social world they supported was transformed by Christian and colonial capitalist pressures.

FIGURE 13
An imagined view of an ‘fare Manihiki under construction. Note the absence of a ridgepole and supporting ridge posts. The structure achieves stability through its triangular section and diagonal in-plane braces (drawing: Jeremy Treadwell).

‘ARE KARIOI

The ‘are karioi were some of the large houses of pre-contact Cook Islands culture. They are known only archaeologically and from historical text where they were variously described as being for the entertainment or pleasure of large groups of people. The much-published drawing by Peter Bellwood (1978:129), (a speculative reconstruction), is the only image known of these buildings from the Cook Islands. ‘Are karioi might be regarded as a form of public or community architecture. Buck mentioned a hare nui from Tongareva, a house built by ariki for the entertainment of distinguished guests. A house platform of 38 feet by 18 feet 6 inches is mentioned (Buck 1932:94).

The missionaries were not keen on this form of collective architecture. Buzacott reflected on the early pre-Christian days, “In heathen times, the natives, for the sake of their security, lived near the mountains, within easy reach of their plots of land. Each tribe . . . herding together in one vast room without any screen or division led to the most reckless and licentious habits of life” (1866:211). Other early European observers described the association of the “privileged and prestigious Ariois cult” with “large houses of entertainment” in the Society Islands (Oliver 1974:913). Maretu recorded an incident during Rarotonga’s early mission days, in which members of a karioi provoked social unease. He described the karioi members as “A community of young men and women and warriors” staying at Te Atukura in “a house of pleasure” (in M. Crocombe 1983:48). Buck explained, “There were however large houses built for the entertainment of villagers and of visitors. They were usually built to the order of a high chief to add to his own prestige and for the entertainment of his unmarried daughters” (Buck 1927:36). Within the ‘are karioi, singing, dancing, and indoor games took place.

Peter Bellwood recorded the size of the paepae of a formerly well-known ‘are karioi on Aitutaki as being 19 by about 10 metres (Bellwood 1978:129). There seems to be significant uncertainty in the analysis of this excavation as to the logic for both the alignments and depth of the postholes in relation to the structure of the building. However, it remains a solid piece of evidence for a large house structure. This excavation generated a reconstruction drawing, which has been extensively reproduced.

Bellwood’s analysis and drawing propose a king-post and tie beam roof structure instead of the centre posts, ridge beam and rafter arrangement of the smaller ‘are. While the king post and tie beams slightly improve the spanning capacity of the rafters, the virtues of the arrangement are that it limits the outward thrust of the rafters on the very small number of the building’s wall posts while leaving the centre space of the building unobstructed for performance.

Bellwood was unable to excavate the paepae on which the building stood and so was unable to determine if a line of central posts had existed to support the ridge beam. So while the king post arrangement has a logic, it remains speculative and with some problems. It is clear that the structure would have required many more king post trusses than are shown on the drawing in order to support the thatch. Lacking posts to support the ends of these extra trusses, the roof loads would have been directed to the long horizontal and unsupported rape (wall plate).

Although there are references to larger examples of these buildings, this is a significant size for a single gable building. These buildings were characteristically longer than they were wide but roughly similar to many later 19th-century Māori meeting houses (Sundt 2010:193-196).

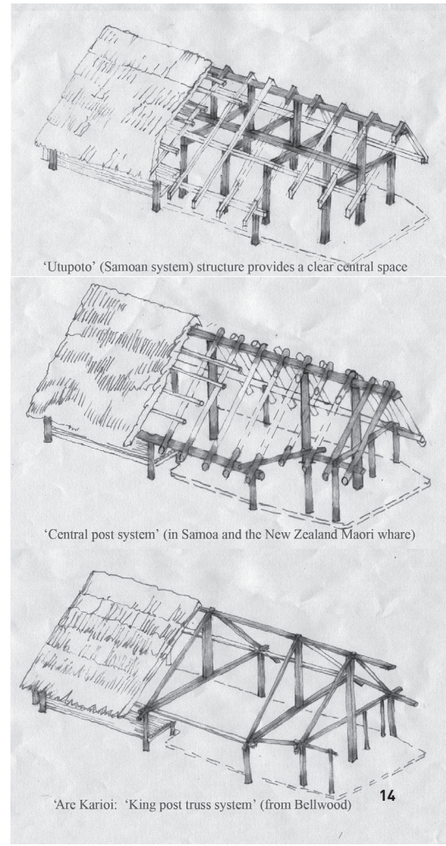

FIGURE 14
Speculative structural alternatives to the Bellwood reconstruction of the ‘are karioi. The Samoan utupoto system keeps a clear central space (top). The Māori whare uses centre posts (middle). The Rarotongan ‘are karioi is thought to have used a king post truss system (bottom), after Bellwood 1978:129 (drawing: Jeremy Treadwell).

‘ARE ATUA (GOD HOUSES)

Behind the screens, fence structures, and carved posts of the marae were the ‘are atua (god houses). These tended to be small and unelaborated structures for the residence of the local god to whom the marae were dedicated. However, the size of both god figures and the houses that contained them varied throughout the island group.

Jeffery Sissons wrote of Rarotonga, poles of another kind were housed within the ‘are atua. These were the elaborately carved ki‘iki‘i (representations of a god, believed to be Tangaroa), up to twenty feet long and four to six inches in diameter. At one end, was a representation of an ancestor (an atua), at the other, a representation of a life-giving phallus. The poles were wrapped in many yards of bark cloth so that they appeared to the missionaries as huge bundles, six to nine feet in circumference (see Tavioni, this volume). Between the cloth and the pole, a small bunch of red feathers was placed along with a string of polished pearl-shell fragments that represented the manava (soul) of the God (Sissons 2007:52, also this volume).

On Mangaia, there was a national god house in which representations of all the different district tribal gods were housed which Buck described as, “a poorly made house of reeds” (Buck 1934:93). Despite the meagre architecture, the gods had a full-time caretaker to look after them.

Mangaian marae also had marae houses called ‘are ei ‘au (house for peace) which Buck described as about six feet long, well thatched with ara (pandanus), and with a small doorway screened with white cloth (Buck 1934:173). The peace houses were known to be occupied spiritually by the gods only during the times between the regular conflicts. Their occupancy was signalled to people by the maintenance and re-thatching of the marae houses. According to Buck, there were no representations of gods in the marae houses on Mangaia.

FIGURE 15
Assembly House, Tereora College, Rarotonga, c.1950. This figure illustrates a large interior space given shape through traditional materials and structure. It offers insight as to the possible appearance of the interior of an ‘are karioi (photo: Anthropology Photographic Archive [ANTHPD] Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland).

FIGURE 16
George Tobin’s watercolour image, ‘The Morai of Oparrey, Island of Otahytey, Looking towards Matavai’ provides insights into the wider material basis, colour and purposes of the built structures of marae in the Cook and Society Islands (watercolour: George Tobin, Sketches on HMS *Providence*; including some sketches from later voyages on *Thetis* and *Princess Charlotte*, 1791–1811, 1792, watercolour, PXa 563, f. 39, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney).

On Tongareva by contrast, the hare atua did house the elongated god figures. E.H. Lamont who was shipwrecked on Tongareva prior to the arrival of the missionaries, described the marae and hare atua on Hangarei Island as “. . . more extensive ‘mara’ [marae] than any I had yet seen, though, from the number of weeds that filled the space and climbed round the huge grey stones, and also the condition of the house in its centre, which was mouldering to decay, it had evidently been long out of use” (1867:162). Lamont later observed a priest entering the hare atua on a marae further around the lagoon on Motu-unga islet, where the priest “brought out a long stick with an immense bundle of feathers and other things tied at one end. This was the local god” (1867:180). Buck concluded,

It is thus evident that the marae house was a fairly constant feature, that it was used to contain the material representation of the gods, and that it was tapu [sacred] to those not belonging to the priesthood. It is difficult to see what other sacred objects could have been kept in the marae house, for the Tongarevans had no special religious regalia or such objects (1932b:158).

Perhaps indicating the significance of the godhouse on the Pukapuka marae, Beaglehole wrote of the wale atua (a house with a ridgepole and posts but also with an elevated platform), “the type [sic] house was used in former days as a god house. But the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house” (1938:117). From Pukapuka, we learn by proxy what a

marae house might have looked like on that atoll, but we have no other images that inform an understanding of the architecture of these buildings. Polynesian cultures developed a wide variety of storage buildings for both the most tapu and noa (everyday) possessions. These buildings varied between the most elaborately decorated to the most mundane. Some marae houses of the Pacific, particularly on Mangaia, transcended the storage of material form to become a 'dwelling' for the immaterial. In this sense, the building ceased to function as an actual interior space; instead, it operated symbolically as exterior form to mediate relations between people and between people and gods.

THE TRADITION IN THE FUTURE

The architecture of the Cook Island archipelago reflects the complex historical and cultural relationships that evolved across this eastern stretch of the Pacific Ocean. Its varied character has allegiances beyond the administrative boundaries of the nation state contributing more significantly to a wider culture of Oceanic architecture. The architecture of the Cook Islands developed as part of a varied material culture that was both technically accomplished and culturally significant. It drew from local materials and migrating knowledge to mediate the varied island environments.

The sadness of Cook Islands architecture today is less that the buildings of the previous centuries have disappeared than that the aesthetics and the technologies that had evolved with them were not taken seriously into the present. The routine acceptance of New Zealand timber frame technology, imported treated timber, and solid walls with holes plugged and sealed with aluminium joinery, denies the possibility of contemporary responsive local architectures.

The architecture that evolved in the different regions of the Cook Islands was responsive to both its local climate and its cultural traditions. It had wall systems that made use of natural ventilation, it had diffuse roof cladding that resisted heat transfer to the interior, and it supported a collective culture. Furthermore, the traditional buildings of the past were made with renewable materials. The main things that the Cook Islands architects of the past imported were ideas. It was these ideas that allowed the buildings to evolve and improve.

The attributes of the traditional buildings of the Cook Islands are attributes that many architects around the world are looking to incorporate in their buildings now. Traditional Cook Islands architecture should be not be thought of as providing an image of some kind of romantic past, an entity to recreate in form, but as a resource from which to develop a contemporary and technically innovative architecture that is locally relevant and economical.

The art of Pacific cultures has influenced Western art practices for over a century and contemporary Pacific artists are recognized globally as well as locally. In New Zealand, it is Māori architecture that continues to be sought after by international visitors and architects. In the same way that Māori architecture is increasingly understood as both art and technology, Cook Islands artists and architects might fill the void left by the colonial and develop new buildings that reflect the changing cultural and technical life of the Pacific.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jeremy Treadwell is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Auckland. He has written on colonial and indigenous architecture in New Zealand and the Pacific. He is currently researching Polynesian tectonics as developed in 19th century Māori meeting houses.

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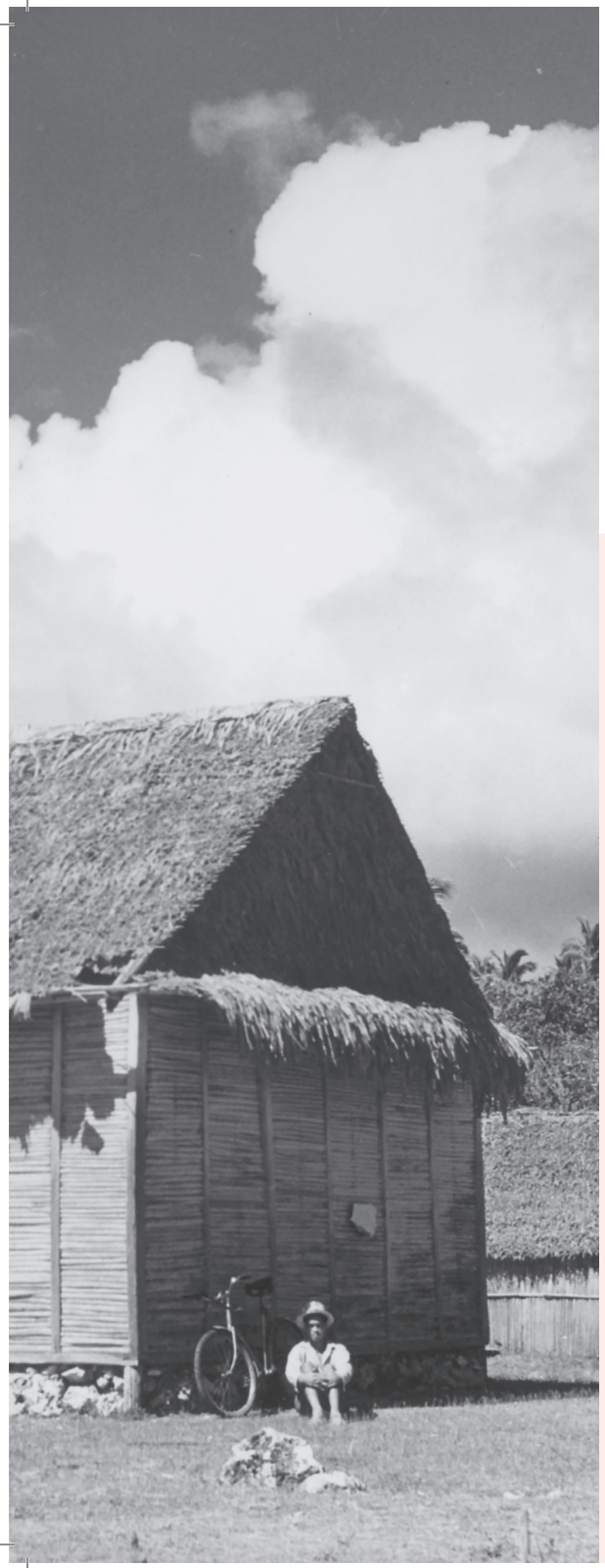

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"The main things that the Cook Islands architects of the past imported were ideas."

GLOSSARY

ahu	platform (Tongarevan)
ara	pandanus
'are	house
'are karioi	house of entertainment or pleasure
'are atua	god house
'are ei 'au	house for peace
ariki	chief of an island or district
arioi	young 'high born' men and women, prestigious young people, performers or entertainers (Tahitian)
atua	ancestor, god
bure	house (Fijian)
e hakiro i hare	to beautify the house
fale	house (Samoan)
fare	house (Tahitian)
fare tutu	cooking house (Tahitian and Manihikian)
hare	house (Tongarevan)
hare nui	large house (Tongarevan)
ka'a	sennit, coconut fibre rope
karioi	young 'high born' men and women, prestigious young people, performers or entertainers
ki'iki'i	ki'iki'i (carved representations of a god, believed to be Tangaroa), up to twenty feet long and four to six inches in diameter. At one end, was a representation of an ancestor (an atua), at the other a representation of a life-giving phallus. The ki'iki'i were wrapped in many yards of bark cloth.
kirikiri teatea	white coral gravel
koutu ariki	court or ceremonial area for the investiture of an ariki title
manava	soul
maneaba	meeting house (Kiribati)
manuhiri, manu'iri	visitor, guest, stranger
marae	religious structure
mata'iapo	leader of a subdistrict
moai	giant statue (Rapa Nui)
noa	everyday, secular,
oka	rafters
pae	horizon or dividing line, side, border, edge
paepae	low rectangular arrangement of stone surrounding a pebble or stone floor, forming the base of a house; and/or the area in front of the house, particularly the house of an ariki or mataiʻapo
paepae	heavy board separating a house porch from the world outside (NZ Māori)
pou	post
poutahu/poutā'ū'ū	post supporting ridge beam
rape	wall plate
tā'ū'ū	ridge beam
tapu	sacred
tapere	island sub-district, headed by a mata'iapo
tua	roof
wale atua	god house (Pukapukan)
wale wakayamoa	type of house (Pukapukan)
whare	house (NZ Māori)

Chapter Sixteen

CORAL AND CHRISTIANITY
CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

Jeanette Budgett

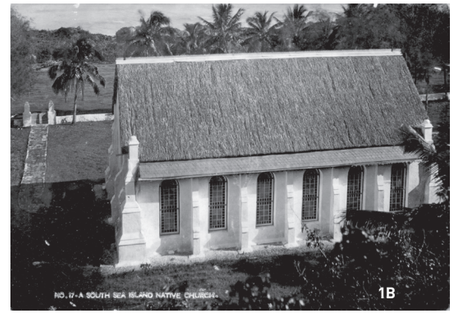
The coast road of Rarotonga is a compelling circuit for all who visit the island. Situated between the sea, with its close encircling reef, and the mountainous peaks of the interior, the route is striking for the white-washed coral chapels, which are strung along the coastal plain at regular intervals, and mark district, history, and landscape. Little suggests how politically central these churches were to the early days of colonial contact, or how remarkable their massive white walls of European influence must have appeared beside fibre and thatch, the construction materials of the traditional Cook Islands house. Today, these artefacts from the colonial encounter vie for heritage status, even as they continue to mark the weekly rhythm of contemporary life in the Cook Islands.

The coast road parallels an older ritual circuit through the coastal plain; the 16th-century roadway, the Ara Metua, formed of coral and basalt, encircled the island to link all the tapere (districts) and their marae (platforms or terraces created and used for ceremonial and religious purposes). The new girdle of coral churches, schools, and cottages of the London Missionary Society (LMS) tells a story of cultural transition in the Cook Islands, a story that can be traced through both the displacement of the indigenous architecture and its transformation.

Not only European and Cook Islands architectural influences shaped this transition. Papeiha, the Tahitian LMS orometua (pastor) responsible for the first Christian churches on Aitutaki and Rarotonga in 1821 and 1824 respectively, introduced new timber-frame and thatching methods from Tahiti (Moyle 1984:24). His ambitious church at Avarua, Rarotonga, built in 1824, was intended to be a startling 600 feet in length; it was still politically impressive at 250 feet, and Papeiha introduced thousands of Cook Islanders to Christianity under its monumental roof.

The introduction of Christianity saw spectacular shifts in the locations and settlement patterns of the Rarotongan people. Architecture not only responded to this cultural upheaval, it also manifested the political and social change underway. The rapid conversion of the southern Cook Islands in the early 1820s resulted in almost total destruction of sacred marae, and the near absence of traditional Cook Islands architecture today might be contrasted with the relative persistence of living architectural traditions elsewhere in the Pacific.

1A



1B

Theories differ about why some islands were more rapidly Christianized than others. Some attribute Rarotonga's speedy transition to a desire for the new technology brought by the missionaries; others attribute it to intra-district hostility and political instability. So-called 'fatal impact' theories, however, in which Pacific peoples were seen as passive, hapless recipients of the colonial encounter, have been tempered by historians and anthropologists who have emphasized the resilience, continuity, and engagement of Pacific cultures after their contact with Europeans. [1]

THE COMPLEX ARTEFACT
ONEROA CHURCH

In 1891, at the pinnacle of his missionary career and upon the completion of the Oneroa Church on Mangaia, the Rev. George Harris remarked in correspondence that the church interior "is so European in style & comfort that were it not for the bright sun & tropical surroundings . . . we might imagine ourselves in an English church, erected by properly trained artisans" (Harris 12 Aug 1891). Harris's English chapel, transposed to a Pacific location, was part of the evangelical project to fashion Cook Islands society in the mould of mid-19th-century middle-class England. For many LMS missionaries of lower-middle and working-class backgrounds, such as Harris, missionary service provided a social and material status — replete with substantial houses, walled grounds, domestic servants, and significant power in the new colonial society — to which few of their contemporaries could have aspired at home in Britain.

Harris's transplant of Gothic Revival wall buttresses, lancet windows, and iron roof spikes to 1890s Oneroa — an orderly settlement of white coral cottages, mission house, and Sunday school — appeared, outwardly, to signal the success of the colonial project. As it happens, it was one of the last significant coral constructions built by the LMS in the Cook Islands.

Harris's Oneroa church was a more complex object than first impressions might convey. The traditional pandanus thatched roof was ingeniously finished with a border of diagonally laid slates. The Mangaian deacons had wanted a roof of

[1] For discussion of speedy transition, see, e.g., Gilson 1980:22-23 and Beaglehole 1957:386-387. Anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons (2005) attributed speedy transition to efforts by ariki (persons of superior rank) to centralize their power over the mata'iapo (sub-district chiefs). For post-contact resilience, see, e.g., Thomas 1994:57-58.

FIGURE 1A
Unknown, 'Cook Islands Mangaia, Church Mission', Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL996.127294 1/2 View from the paepae of the Sunday School.

FIGURE 1B
Oneroa Church, Mangaia, built 1891 (photo: George Crummer, Olga Harding Collection, 1890 - 1899, Cook Islands Library and Museum Society).

The white walls of coral plaster acquired complex cross-cultural significance.

2A

2B

3

imported slate, but Harris preferred the economical and climatically appropriate thatch that moderated the intense heat of the tropics. The compromise reached resembles, interestingly, the decorative borders of plaited mats and the ornamental diamond lozenge motifs of traditional Mangaian lashing, carving, and tapa (bark cloth).

Inside, the immense roof timbers and the double row of aisle posts of English tradition were lashed in the custom of important Mangaian houses. "Thousands of yards of beautifully plaited sinnet (cord) made from coconut fibre cover the rafters in strange fantastic designs," recounts Harris in a letter to his London directors (Harris 13 Jan 1891). These intricate bindings, elevated to an art form at which the Mangaians excelled, not only ensured strongly lashed house timbers and well-constructed thatching, but remain metaphors for social cohesion in Cook Islands speech. The elaborate lashing of church timbers showed the extent to which the church was a hybrid construction and a significant binding together of two cultures (Dixon 2004; also Dixon, this volume).

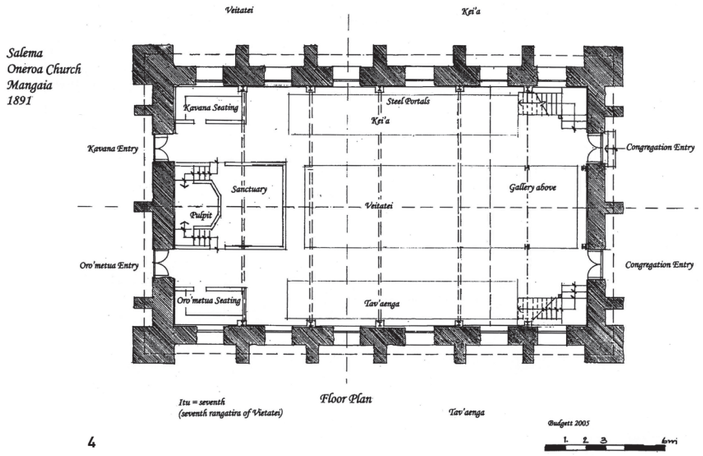
Until the arrival of the missionaries, Mangaian people frequently contested, through war, territorial rights to the fertile valley lands of Mangaia, so the populations of these productive areas shifted over time. With the advent of peace under mission influence, the temporal rulers of these prized valleys acquired permanent possession – to the chagrin of the dispossessed who occupied the rocky makatea (the relatively infertile raised coral plateau that forms a perimeter) around Mangaia. Allegiance to the Christian newcomers, thus, was far from being consensual and believed to have been strategically negotiated for economic and political advantage (Buck 1934).

Aspects of the social stratification and political division that existed in pre-contact society were re-asserted through the physical structure and use of the church (Dixon 2004). For example, the Christian offices of deacons and pastors allowed the emergence of new hierarchies that echoed traditional political distinctions. The spatial use of the Oneroa Church reflected new images of Mangaian identity. These divisions and residual tensions continue to be reflected in the Oneroa Church's spatial allocation. Today, the general

FIGURE 2A
The buttressed walls of the Oneroa Church, Mangaia (photo: Mimi Paloma)

FIGURE 2B
Interior c. 1955, Oneroa Church, Mangaia, built 1891 (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 3
Tamarua Church Interior, Mangaia, built 1891. In the 1980s, in a bid to modernize the Oneroa church, its roofing timbers and aisle posts were replaced with steel portals. However, the neighbouring Tamarua church, also built in 1891, still has its original sinnet-lashed roof timbers and its original tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, island mahogany) aisle posts with the traditional double K carving motif seen on Mangaian adze handles (photo: D. S. Marshall Archive, The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



congregation still enters the church from the end opposite the altar. The orometua enters from the altar end on the inland side, and ariki (persons of superior rank) and aronga mana (persons of rank) enter on the seaward side of the altar to occupy their own box pews near the altar. At the time of missionary arrival, the six districts of Mangaia were allocated specific seating areas in the new church around roof posts (posts which recalled the traditional Cook Islands marae stones allocated to the aronga mana). Each district was responsible for the maintenance of specific areas of the church and churchyard, and this arrangement continues today for three of the districts (the remaining three districts having acquired their own church buildings) (Dixon 2004).

The most dramatic example of the accommodation of political complexity is seen in Ma'uke Church's interior. Called the Divided Church, it was literally built in two halves by the two villages on the island of Ma'uke, whose people could not agree on a single architectural expression for the building (Siikala 1991).

WICKERWORK TO WHITE WALLS

Apart from a brief period of multiple roofs, influenced by the Non-conformist chapel traditions of Britain, the large single roof of Pacific tradition persisted in churches throughout the period of LMS coral-building, from the 1820s to the 1890s. Inside, however, the single row of central posts seen in the traditional Cook Islands house had given way to a double row of columns, producing a central nave with aisles reminiscent of English churches. It was wall-building that underwent the most dramatic shift of all: the lightweight Polynesian screen that filtered the sea breezes became an impervious plastered coral construction.

In 1841, William Gill, the resident missionary on Mangaia, described the walls of a schoolhouse as "wickerwork covered with lime plaster" (W. Gill 1856:70). LMS missionaries used this old English technique, known as wattle and daub, to cover the structural timber frames of their buildings. Timber laths of the po'utakava (*Sophora tomentosa*) shrub were used on Mangaia[2] and lime plaster was made, by burning coral. Initially, open fires were used to produce the powdery lime but, later, coral was baked in pits in the ground, similar to umu (pit ovens) (Williams 1838).[3] Mangaians still use a lime pit just behind the Oneroa Church (see Nooroa, this volume).

[2] *Alan Tuara, Mangaia, Nov 2003, pers. comm.*

[3] *Burning the rocks in a pit raised the temperature, thus accelerating the process, which improved the quality of lime produced.*

FIGURE 4
Oneroa Church floor plan, Mangaia, built 1891 (drawing: J. Budgett 2005, original drawing scale 1:50, based on district divisions in Dixon 2004).

FIGURE 5
Working bee in Oneroa Church grounds, Mangaia (photo: J. Budgett 2005).

5

6A

6B

The luminous whiteness of lime plaster resonated with local custom. Whiteness, white cloth in particular, was already important in traditional Cook Islands culture. The people used thick white tapa, called tikoru mata'iapo (cloth of the first born), to wrap the carved god images and as a curtain in the dwellings of tribal priests. It was described as "lordly clothing" for the exclusive use of the gods, great chiefs, and priests (Buck 1934:143). White clothing became a manifestation of the new religion, helping to define the new order, in both time and space, through the daily and weekly rituals of church attendance in the newly formed mission villages. (The customary white clothing of churchgoers today in the Cook Islands reflects this.)

Artefacts in the cross-cultural encounter frequently acquired new significance and became invested with new meaning. When disease in the 1830s rapidly devastated the population, Williams wrote,

So many dying the people had used in the first place all their canoes for coffins. Afterwards all their doors and windows, shutters, and last of all their mats and cloth which not proving sufficient they could only cover the middle, leaving the lower and upper Parts uncovered and thus cast them into the grave (1838).

Thus, European architectural elements entered into a hierarchy of consecrated artefacts (traditionally, canoes and cloth) for the burial of the dead.

The lightweight traditional buildings were no match for ferocious tropical hurricanes – or local incendiary opposition – and keen missionary interest in both durability and permanence (old preoccupations of Western architecture) resulted in a reasonably rapid evolution of wall-building technique. Rubble walls nearly a metre thick, as seen in Harris's Oneroa Church, came to replace the flimsy lime and lath. The coral for these new walls was collected from the reef, and a mix of clay and lime was used to bind the irregular stones. Lime plaster finished the walls to a snowy whiteness. The preoccupation with robust building is reflected in the wonderfully extreme expression at Matavera Church on Rarotonga, which was built by Vakapora and the mata'iapo (sub-district chiefs) of the district sometime after 1849. The colossally scaled buttresses approach three metres in thickness.

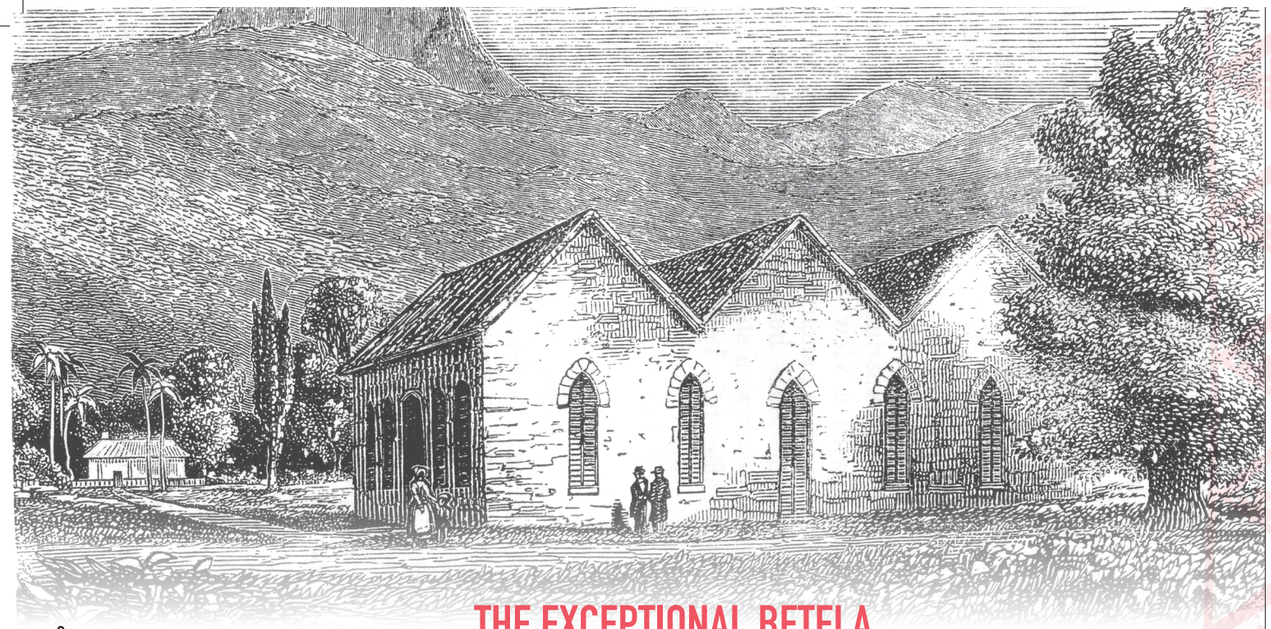
The traditional customary sanctions on the use of white changed as Cook Islanders adopted lime plaster houses in the new settlements. Islanders strewed white coral gravel on paths and gardens in the custom of Aitutakian houses and sacred marae (Buck 1927:2-3), and the cottages were much admired by the missionaries for their order and 'neatness.' The white walls of coral plaster acquired complex cross-cultural significance.

FIGURE 6A
Members of the Oneroa Ekelesia stack coral rocks onto timber in preparation of an umu ngaika (lime kiln). The Oneroa Mission house is in the background (photo: D. S. Marshall Archive, The University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 6B
Lime pit, Oneroa Churchyard, Mangaia (1879 Sunday school building by George Harris in the background) (photo: J. Budgett 2005).

FIGURE 7
Matavera Church, Rarotonga, built 1853-1857 (photo: Olga Harding Collection,1890-1899, Cook Islands Library and Museum Society). The church was seriously damaged in several cyclones, and finally rebuilt as a single story structure.

7



8

THE EXCEPTIONAL BETELA CHURCH AT TITIKAVEKA

As mission buildings displaced traditional architecture, their impact on the economy of the islands was substantial. Construction consumed considerable material and labour resources – not only siphoning off the proceeds of cash crop production but at times also having severe impact on subsistence food production and on public health. Following hurricanes, communities were taxed to the limit by the massive wall-building efforts (W. Gill 1856:19-20). In the case of the stone chapel at Titikaveka on Rarotonga's southern coast, however, Cook Islanders seemed undeterred by the costs, exhibiting complex motives for proceeding with the ambitious construction of coral slabs.

Late in 1834, Mr Cunningham, a Scottish planter engaged by the LMS, proposed building the new Titikaveka church with coral rubble. But the Titikaveka people preferred hewn slabs of coral, the square faces of which approximated ashlar, or dressed stone, and which could be laid in courses like blockwork.

The European said that it would be quicker just to collect the stones from round about. The people suggested the pa *[layers of coral limestone along the shore of the lagoon]. They went and cut the* pa *at Tikioki. It took two months to break up and carry the coral rock from there to the village (Crocombe 1983:93).*

The Reverend Charles Pitman, stationed at neighbouring Ngatangiia, wrote to his LMS directors:

The Chapel was longer in the erection than we had anticipated. But at this you would not have been surprised, had you seen the few and rough tools employed by the workmen. At first the poor people began to cut out the stone blocks and hew them with their little hatchets, which having in them so small a portion of steel, were in a few days rendered useless. The Capt'n of an American whaler kindly permitted his blacksmith to come on shore who made us a few picks about 12 or 14 inches long, these with an English pick axe & a crow bar were the chief materials in digging out, squaring and preparing stones for the building; many of which were above half a ton in weight and carried upon men's shoulders for half a mile along the sea shore (Pitman 26 Aug 1841).

In subsequent building projects the LMS found rubble stone construction finished with lime plaster was "An easier & more expeditious way of erecting edifices of stone" (Pitman 26 Aug 1841).[4]

Nevertheless, at Titikaveka, the Rarotongan pastor Iro and his people persisted with the coursed construction – a decision that instigated no little effort over a period of five years, especially as the people were mostly unga (tenants) and were frequently obliged to answer the calls of their chiefs, which was "often a great hindrance" (Pitman 26 Aug 1841). A clue to the builders' persistence appeared in the biography of Ta'unga, a Rarotongan who assisted in the erection of the church: "Constructed with walls twenty-five feet high and three feet thick and covered with three roofs supported by ironwood columns, it reflected the prestige they had lost by resisting the new religion for so long after the other districts had accepted it" (Crocombe & Crocombe 1968:8-9). The loss of prestige for the Titikaveka people, caused by their continued resistance to Christianity, was apparently mitigated by the coursed coral stone construction, pointed arch windows, and not least the penance of years of hard labour and near absence of tools. Complexity and difficulty – both measures of architectural achievement – amplified the cultural value of the project and conferred mana (prestige) on the landless unga, who clearly valued political autonomy over physical comfort.

The original triple gable roof on the Betela Church at Titikaveka was a legacy of the 18th-century Non-conformist chapel, which had a plain flat ceiling in its English setting. In the islands, however, the roof spaces were left open for ventilation. Short roof timbers expedited construction, and the smaller roof planes reduced wind-loading – which the missionaries argued would protect the roof against the tropical storms that regularly blew thatch and frames off their supporting walls (Pitman 2 Jul 1839). The roof valleys, unsurprisingly, proved difficult to waterproof and subsequently rotted out. At an unknown date at Titikaveka an astonishing forest of arching blue-painted roof timbers replaced the triple roof of the original mission chapel.[5] The gable end-walls were filled in with rubble, and the new single gable plastered. This interior appeared to signal the return of the pre-eminent and ornamental roof space widely found in Pacific architecture.[6] It is tempting to speculate that the earlier triple roof, technical failures aside, failed to excite the architectural interest of the Rarotongans.

9A

9B

10

[4] One other chapel, on Tongareva (Penrhyn), is recorded as being built with blocks of white coral (W.W. Gill 1878).

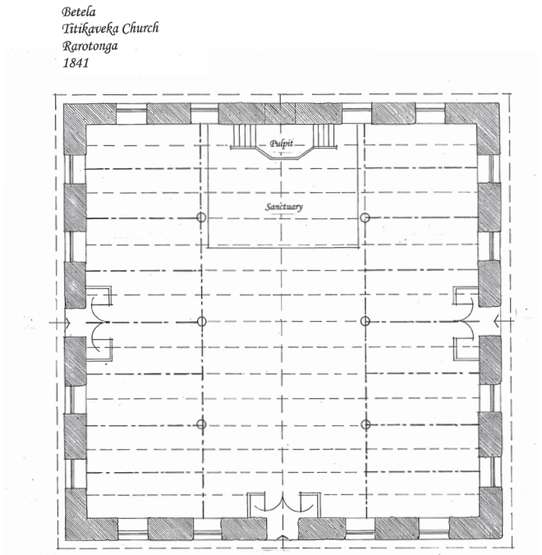
[5] The new roof may have been added after a gale "completely unroofed" the church in 1888 (Hutchin 1888).

[6] e.g., New Zealand Māori wharenui, Samoan fale tele, and Kiribati maneaba

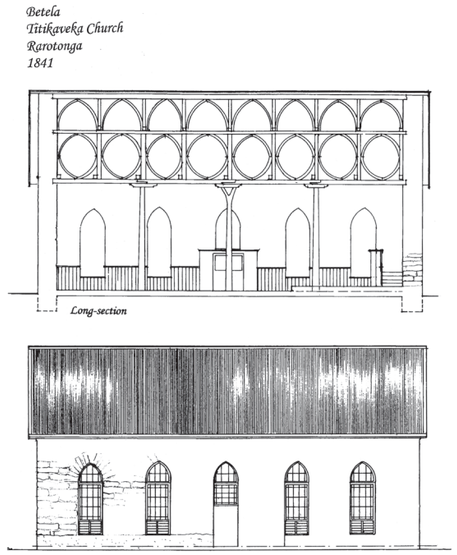
FIGURE 8
Betela Church at Titikaveka, the first stone chapel, Rarotonga, built 1841 (in W. Gill 1856:31).

FIGURE 9A & 9B
Roof interior of Titikaveka Church, Rarotonga, built 1841 (photo: J. Budgett 2005).

FIGURE 10
Exterior of Titikaveka Church, Rarotonga, built 1841. The profile of the original triple roof can be seen under the plaster of the current single gable end (photo: J. Budgett 2005).



11A



11B

"The English missionaries, newly socially mobile themselves as a result of the Industrial Revolution, offered the Cook Islands commoners equal access to a spiritual world formerly regulated by the caste distinctions of a highly stratified society."

The compellingly simple square plan of the Betela Church at Titikaveka encloses an aisled interior of plain ironwood posts. Windows were originally evenly spaced on all elevations, suggesting that the pulpit may have been centrally located on a post. Titikaveka provided general seating for all, unlike the separate box pews for chiefs and pastors in Harris's later church at Oneroa.

It is not clear who designed the church, but Pitman's support for the democratic principles of Non-conformist Protestantism may be seen here (Gunson 1978:321). The Non-conformists, with their roots in the 16th-century Puritan resistance, built austere, classically influenced meeting-houses, which were plain and without chancel, transept, or apse. The sanctuary, located to maximize the ability of the pastor to be seen and heard, was often central or on the longer sidewall. (This can be seen still in the Arutanga Church on Aitutaki which is 'broad' rather than 'long.') This 'democratizing' tendency in the centralized plan reflected Non-conformist interest in the practical application of religion to daily life, and contrasted with the later Gothic Revival axial plan with its defined chancel, hierarchical organization, and heightened focus on the ritualistic celebration of the liturgy.

The English missionaries, newly socially mobile themselves as a result of the Industrial Revolution, offered the Cook Islands commoners equal access to a spiritual world formerly regulated by the caste distinctions of a highly stratified society. The political implications of this gesture do not appear to have been lost on the Titikaveka congregation of the time. It is reflected strongly in the plan and in the use of the interior today. The church still has no privileged seating plan.[7] People are apparently free to sit where they like. This egalitarian seating is unprecedented in Pacific meeting houses in general, in which seating arrangements reflect finely drawn social and political distinctions, ritually regulating contact among those of differing status (Bowden 2004). In this respect, it differs greatly from Harris's Oneroa church of 1891 and all other Rarotongan churches. The democratic expression of the Titikaveka plan appeared to speak of new political possibilities in Rarotonga in the first decades of contact with Europeans.[8]

THE IMPORTANCE OF CORAL

Well before the missionaries arrived, coral had wide significance for Rarotongan marae. Coastal marae frequently included basalt brought from the mountains and, conversely, mountain marae contained blocks of coral brought up from the coast. Marae appeared to be complete when elements from the high status zones of both coast and mountain were joined (Campbell 2002:154).

Coral and basalt were found in the 16th-century inland road, the Ara Metua. This bounding road, anthropologist Matthew Campbell argues, consecrated the marae in a sanctified landscape.[9] When the missionaries arrived on Rarotonga, they located their churches in the prestigious realm of the coast and linked them with a road. In creating a girdle of new chapels on the coast, Campbell observed, "the missionaries played a trump card by putting their circuit in a higher status location" (Campbell 2002:161).

The ritual marae sites of Mangaia also made use of coral stone slabs to retain the edges of the platforms. The coral slabs were positioned with one end of the slab embedded in the ground to stabilize them. They acted, structurally, to retain the terrace and, architecturally, as a cosmetic facing or revetment to 'dress' the terrace. They further acted spatially to contain and demarcate the edge and to separate the platform from the surrounding ground. On Mangaia, the physically stepped detachment of Rongo's marae from the ground was seen as a symbolic threshold to spiritually sanctified space. This notion of removal from the world was expressed in Cook Islands pe'e or chant:

'Aore oa te paepae o Rongo e taea	The platform of Rongo cannot be ascended
E paepae tuatinitini tuamanomano	A platform open to the thousands and to myriads
Kota'i 'ua e tae	One only can reach it
O te 'i 'iri, o te rarama	Wisdom and learning (Buck 1934:176).

Strategies to regulate the relationship between a structure and the terrain, (seen to powerful effect in the magnificent Vairakaia marae in the gardens of Tengatangi on Atiu) are recalled in the LMS churches - in the coral borders of the Oneroa Church on Mangaia and, notably, on Atiu and Ma'uke, where the ramparted plinths on which the churches sit replicate the boundary of the marae platform.

The heavy slabs of coral used at Titikaveka were quarried from the lagoon at Tikioki. Softer than basalt, more easily hewn, and significantly closer than any mountain supply of stone, the coral recalls the use of coral stone slabs on the marae and is transformed by its new context. The coral ashlar masonry did not require finishing with plaster, a mark of its material distinction, and it both structured and dressed the church. A correct relation between enclosure and the enclosed was established. The coral walls consecrated an emerging spatial, spiritual, and political order, visible in the plan.

[7] Rod Dixon, University of the South Pacific, 2006, in discussion with Te Tika Mata'iapo Dorice Reid, a member of the Titikaveka Church.

[8] This political argument, suggesting the churches became vehicles for the expression of political rivalry between mata'iapo and ariki, draws on the work of anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons (esp. 2005).

[9] Ritual binding is a constant theme in sacred contexts, regulating contact between tapu (sacred) and non-tapu elements in order to channel the supernatural forces of the gods.

FIGURE 11A
Floorplan for Titikaveka Church, Rarotonga, built 1841 (drawing: J. Budgett 2005).

FIGURE 11B
Cross Section and elevation, Titikaveka Church, Rarotonga. Windows are evenly spaced on all elevations, suggesting that the pulpit may have been centrally located on a post. Today, a window on the inland side of the church is filled in, and the pulpit located there (drawing: J. Budgett 2005).

12

The spectacular attempt to regain ground or prestige through the construction of an exemplary coral church was a way of acknowledging the 'newly made' or re-territorialized site at Titikaveka, where cross-cultural and intra-cultural relations were being formed within the uniquely non-hierarchical plan of the church. The church introduced new relations while securing old ties of cosmological importance. A binding of site with material and cultural memory was enacted through monumental architectonic means.

INCISING PRACTICES

Designed and built by missionary laymen and Cook Islanders, the LMS churches mixed 18th-century neoclassical and 19th-century Gothic Revival influences, with indigenous Pacific architectural traditions. An engraving of Rev. Aaron Buzacott's Gothic Revival church at Avarua in 1853 shows the walls of lime plaster incised by a network of fine lines to represent ashlar courses, a method that recalls dressed stone technique. The 1838 Ngatangiia schoolhouse was "plastered & stucko'd on the outside in imitation of cut stone" (Pitman 24 Sep 1838). So too was the Arorangi Church in 1844.

The incising of the plaster recalls the indigenous practice of tattoo: the incised ashlar line scoring a dark shadow line on the white skin of the building, just as tattoo inlaid black ink under skin. At the time, tattooed skin was a significant "site of opposition" to the cultural transformation taking place under Christianity, and, under the laws introduced by the missionaries in 1879 (now referred to as the infamous Blue Laws), tattooing was forbidden (Edmond 1997:27). Nevertheless, the practice was regarded with the ambivalence that characterized many missionary attitudes to indigenous custom. Condemned by religion but not by artistic merit, the missionary Charles Pitman could still acknowledge, "Many of the chiefs are very tastefully Tatau'd . . ." (Mason

FIGURE 12
Atiu Church (built c. 1850 – 1860) on a ramparted plinth that recalls the marae platform.' (photo: J. Budgett 2005).

FIGURE 13
The Vairakaia marae in the gardens of Tengatangi on Atiu recalls the ramparted plinth of the Atiu church (photo: J. Budgett, 2015).

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2003:59-60). Ironically for the missionary who struggled against so-called 'darkness' and the 'heathen' practice of tattoo, the Cook Islanders associated tattoo with a coming into the light (Mason 2003:51-65).

The practice of inscribing ashlar lines disappeared from mission buildings. Today, incising of plaster is seen only on churchyard graves. It is remarkable that so little use was made of a surface so amenable to carving with the bluntest of tools, especially when European techniques of pargeting and sgraffito (traditional arts of decorative or ornamental plastering) have such long histories and the Cook Islands enjoys a rich artistic tradition of carving.

The incised lines made in the walls of Buzacott's church are now mere traces at the top of the tower, long-since obscured by subsequent whitewashing. They were, seemingly, not regarded as permanent marks. No painful or consecrating transformation gave them a ritual significance, such as that given to tattoo or scarification. No great effort was required that matched the carving of timber or hewing of coral slab. Despite being an apparently suitable site for artistic expression, the plaster surface seems to have left little record.

For a time, the new white buildings seemed to confer benefits to Cook Islanders: political status, commercial advantage, and new understandings of technology. Then, towards the end of the 19th century, the political ground shifted again, with the 1891 establishment of the British Protectorate spelling the end of missionary influence. The dwindling ability of the LMS to marshal the voluntary labour to build the massive constructions of earlier times was tellingly signalled in 1895. The last significant LMS building, Tereora College on Rarotonga, utilized a lightweight timber structural frame. Most of the materials were supplied from Auckland and assembled by paid carpenters. Coral building fell out of use. The full arc of the Mission's tectonic trajectory had apparently been drawn, and colonial politics dictated new directions.

Today, the churches figure less in the increasingly secular political geography of the Cook Islands; yet, their cultural importance remains. After 1895, the LMS built no more buildings of consequence, and today the Cook Islands Christian Church is the inheritor of the handful of remaining coral constructions from the mission period. Apart from remaining marae, they are the oldest buildings in the Cook Islands.

> ***"Ironically for the missionary who struggled against so-called 'darkness' and the 'heathen' practice of tattoo, the Cook Islanders associated tattoo with a coming into the light (Mason 2003:51-65)."***

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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FIGURE 14
Members of the Oneroa Ekalesia c. 1955 (photo: D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 15
Oneroa Church, side elevation, c. 1955 showing buttresses and stained glass windows before the latter's removal (photo: D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

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GLOSSARY

LMS	London Missionary Society
ariki	person of superior rank
aronga mana	persons of rank
fale tele	meeting house (Samoan)
makatea	raised coral plateau that forms a perimeter around an island
mana	prestige
maneaba	meeting house (Kiribati)
marae	platform or terrace created and used for ceremonial and religious purposes
mata'iapo	sub-district chief
orometua	pastor, minister
po'utakava	*Sophora tomentosa,* a coastal shrub
rangatira	hereditary titleholder
tamanu	*Calophyllum inophyllum,* island mahogany
tapa	bark cloth
tapere	district
tapu	forbidden, sacred, taboo
tikoru mata'iapo	cloth of the first born
umu	pit oven, oven in the ground
unga	tenant
wharenui	meeting house (NZ Māori)

Chapter Seventeen

UMU PUNGA
THE LIME KILN

Taoi Nooroa

Many London Missionary Society missionaries in the Pacific brought with them knowledge of wattle and daub construction techniques used extensively in rural Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Wattle and daub building involved weaving small timbers (wattle) into a matrix to support a mud-based daub. As the daub dried, workers often keyed it by scratching, and after it hardened, dampened the surface to receive a plaster coating. People usually made the surface plaster of lime and sand or other aggregates reinforced with animal hair or plant fibre. In the Pacific, people obtained the lime from soft coral (punga, *Porites lobata*, or Wide-lobed Porites) heated in an umu (traditional ground oven).

Later, they used the coral lime in mortar, binding together coral rubble to form the walls of the mission era churches. They sometimes used vines and various roots for reinforcing, but the strength lay in the thickness of the walls — about 30 inches for large buildings and a minimum of 18 inches for small ones (Ryan 1961:44).

John Williams recounted the Aitutaki people's first experience of lime making in 1821:

> *Having been taught at Raiatea the art of making lime from coral rock, the teachers [Papeiha and Vahapata] determined to plaster the chapel, and therefore desired the chiefs to send their people to cut down a large portion of fire-wood; and when this was done, they requested them to send to the sea for a quantity of coral rock, which was brought to the shore and piled upon the wood.*
>
> *The natives did as they were desired, but could not imagine what all this singular process of preparation was to effect. At length, the teachers requested them to set light to the fire-wood; and, as soon as it began to blaze, they could contain themselves no longer, but commenced shouting, "Oh these foreigners, they are roasting stones, they are roasting stones! Come, hurricane, and blow down our bananas and our bread-fruit; we shall never suffer from famine again; these foreigners are teaching us to roast stones." The Missionaries told them to wait patiently, and they would see the result. At daylight the following morning they hastened to the spot, and, to their utter astonishment, the burnt coral was reduced to a beautiful powder; and they were so surprised and delighted at its softness and whiteness, that they actually whitewashed their hats and native garments, and strutted about the settlement, admiring each other exceedingly. A space in the chapel being wattled, the teachers mixed up a portion of the "roasted stone" with some sand, and plastered it on the space which had been prepared, taking care to cover it up with mats, and to send the people away, lest, prompted by their curiosity, they should scratch it down before it became hard. Early on the next morning they all hastened to see this wonderful*

People usually made the surface plaster of lime and sand or other aggregates reinforced with animal hair or plant fibre. In the Pacific, people obtained the lime from soft coral (punga, Porites lobata, or Wide-lobed Porites) heated in an umu (traditional ground oven).

FIGURE 1
Collecting punga or porites coral from the Mangaia lagoon for the umu punga, c.1955 (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

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sight. The chiefs and common people, men, women, and children, hurried to the spot; and when the covering was removed, a sheet of beautifully white plastering was presented to their astonished view. All pressed forward to examine it; some smelling it, some scratching it, whilst others took stones and struck it, exclaiming, as they retired, "Wonderful, wonderful! The very stones in the sea, and the sand on the shore, become good property, in the hands of those who worship the true God, and regard his good word." Thus singular and beneficial was the impression produced by the introduction of useful arts among this people (Williams 1837:20).

For Williams, white limewash contributed to the appearance of order, uniformity, and discipline that the missionaries sought to effect in the islands. Native houses were –

painted partly with lamp-black, procured from the candle-nut, and partly with red ochre and other preparations. The contrast between these and the snowy whiteness of the coral-lime gives the whole [village] a chaste and animated appearance; and as the houses are all new, and of nearly equal dimensions, the [Christian] settlement possesses a uniformity which is seldom found among the South Sea islanders (Williams 1837:95).

Williams was not alone among missionaries in regarding whiteness as a new covering, signifying acceptance of Christianity (see Sarah Treadwell, this volume).

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FIGURE 2
A work group collects wood for the umu punga, located behind the Oneroa Mission House, Mangaia c.1955. A mixture of fast burning and slow burning woods was used to maintain combustion. The lime was used to limewash the Oneroa Church (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURES 3, 4 & 5
Human chains convey coral stones for the umu punga, c.1955. Figures 4 and 5 show the lime kiln on the left. In their role as deacons, traditional leaders called work groups for church activities such as the umu punga (photos: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

Lime contributed not only to the fashionability of mission dwellings, and to the binding together of houses of worship, but also to the mana of the chiefs whose ngāti were called on to produce lime through the labour-intensive umu punga.

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Lime also provided the base for other colours. Decorating the Rev. Aaron Buzacott's house at Rarotonga, Williams noted that –

By the exercise of a little ingenuity we contrived to render them both comfortable and respectable. Mixing red ochre with the coral whitewash, we obtained a salmon colour for our walls, and by pounding the charcoal of soft wood and mixing it with lime, we procured a French grey. The graceful foliage of the banana, young bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut trees, by which they are surrounded, invests our premises with an appearance of neatness and elegance (1837:124).

Limewashes in salmon and French grey were fashionable Victorian interior colours. "It was my determination, when I originally left England," Williams wrote, "to have as respectable a dwelling as I could erect; for the Missionary does not go to barbarise himself, but to civilise the heathen. He ought not, therefore, to sink down to their standard, but to elevate them to his" (1837:124). This civilizing mission included aspects and colours of Victorian interior design.

Lime contributed not only to the fashionability of mission dwellings, and to the binding together of houses of worship, but also to the mana of the chiefs whose ngāti were called on to produce lime through the labour-intensive umu punga. The high status accorded lime in Cook Islands society is seen in its use as a construction material for ariki houses and for memorial stones in church graveyards (Fig.7).

FIGURE 6
The product: punga or soft lime powder, c.1955 (photo: D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 7
Makea Memorial, limestone construction, Avarua Church, Rarotonga (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

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As Budgett points out (this volume), the post missionary New Zealand colonial period was characterized largely by wooden structures. However, as Ryan reported, coral lime was revived as the standard building material for government buildings, homes, offices, and stores in a last great burst of colonial construction.

Since 1951 [in the Cook Islands] Coralite [lime pug mixed with metal aggregates in concrete mixers] has been used for some 153,380 square feet of construction. This represents 42% of the total Government building programme carried out during this period [1951-1961]. The latter includes 26 residences for European staff, school rooms, Government offices, cottage hospitals, dental clinics, etc (Ryan 1961:44-45).

Coral lime remains the chief material used for repair to and decoration of the walls of Mangaia's three churches. Figures 8 – 10 show a recent umu punga in the grounds of the Oneroa Church. All Mangaian Ekalesia members participated in the umu through the contribution of food and labour. The umu was lit on 15 September 2014 and died out nearly three weeks later.

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FIGURES 8, 9, 10
Umu punga, Oneroa Church, Mangaia 2014. The umu was lit on 15 September 2014 and died out nearly three weeks later. The church can be seen in the background of Figure 10 (photos: Taoi Nooroa).

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Taoi Nooroa is rangatira for the tapere Tiarere in the puna Keiā and Secretary of the Aronga Mana of Mangaia.

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GLOSSARY

ariki	chief, the head of the island
aronga mana	group of tribal chiefs
kavana	hereditary steward of the rangatira and people of a district or puna; a variant of the English word 'governor'
mana	authority, power, prestige
ngāti	tribe
puna	one of the six divisions of the island of Mangaia, centred around taro growing swamp lands
punga	soft coral, *Porites lobata*, or Wide-lobed Porites; also the coral lime derived from cooking porites coral
rangatira	hereditary title held by members of an ariki or mata'iapo family
tapere	district stewarded by a rangatira
umu	traditional ground oven

Chapter Eighteen

BLACK AND WHITE IMAGININGS OF ARCHITECTURE[1]

Sarah Treadwell

The engraved images in 19th-century missionary books, at once didactic and sensational, are poised between propaganda and scientific illustration. Embellishing the already expansive Victorian prose that extolled the so-called virtues of missionary work in the South Pacific, such images provided formal propositions about the world into which the missionaries sailed: vegetation was luxurious, waves carried the smell of salt air, and people were portrayed with an eye to difference. The pictures acted ostensibly as eyewitness accounts, as verification of the events conveyed in the writing, and, given their reuse in different publications and situations, they also served as generic images for colonial encounters.

This chapter considers some of the images used in missionary publications that deal with the Cook Islands. They are viewed with the understanding that the effects of historical events still persist. As Leonard Bell wrote in his book on European images of Māori in New Zealand, *Colonial Constructs,* "images contributed to the making of the colonial reality. Their production and uses can be regarded as components in a complex fabric, in which social, artistic, and political strands were interwoven" (Bell 1992:7). This chapter pursues the part that architecture plays in the images of the Cook Islands in the mission era.

Architecture shapes many of the 19th-century images of the Cook Islands through its presence, destruction, or transformation, but tends to remain unacknowledged as an active component of political and ideological histories. Instead, architecture is seen as decorative backdrop, fitting foundation, or disciplining container or, rather, understood as a marker of tradition or a sign of establishment. In many historical interpretations of the missionary images of the Cook Islands, architecture is employed by commentators as a guarantor of the reality of their writing by representing materiality, offering signs of the concrete in contrast to the, more obviously constructed, written texts.

Materiality, matter, and things have become more critical conditions in understanding history. As art theorist W.J.T. Mitchell has pointed out, history can begin with *things* and materiality does now matter (2005:153). He wrote, "Empire requires and produces, in a word, objecthood, and along with it a discourse of objectivity. All these it then mobilizes around an ideal object, an objective or goal which motivates the imperial quest, gives it a purpose and life of its own" (p.155). The religious objective is very apparent in missionary narratives shaping the text, driving activity, intent and desire, while the inevitable technological and material exchanges are more discretely present.

In his missionary endeavours for the London Missionary Society, the Rev. John Williams explicitly approached conversion through architecture and its fabrication. He promoted the demolition of marae (sacred grounds), the burning of sacred objects of worship, and the building of a new white architecture in which to worship the new religion and to emulate English behaviour. In seeking to convert the "King of Atiu," Williams preached from the Old Testament on the nature of idols and specifically used a reference to the roasting of meat and the subsequent use of the cooked residue for worship;[2] he was employing concepts of moa[3] and noa to make his point.

> *Nothing could be better calculated to make an impression on the mind of an intelligent South Sea islander than these inimitable verses. . . . The natives have two words not very much unlike, but expressive of opposite ideas,* - moa *and* noa, *the* moa *meaning sacred, and noa the very reverse of sacred. All that pertains to the gods is the superlative of* moa*; and all that pertains to food, and the cooking of food is superlative of* noa *(Williams 1838:22).*

Using an argument that demonstrated an inappropriate material link between the fuel for cooking food and the substance from which the sacred idols were made, the missionaries successfully advocated their destruction. Timber as an architectural material might have been seen to take on a whiff of the burning wooden idols.

Missionary writing on architecture focused strongly on the transformative effects of the introduction of a non-timber technology, lime wash, plaster, and coral stone, applauding the subsequent whiteness of the new buildings. Despite the fact that the structure and framework of the first missionary chapels were made of timber, the new white surface ensured that missionary architecture was differentiated from the existing building and its structural dependence on timber was suppressed. The new surface represented a technological shift that had resonance with the introduction of the new religion. At Aitutaki, for example,

> ***Architecture shapes many of the 19th-century images of the Cook Islands through its presence, destruction, or transformation, but tends to remain unacknowledged as an active component of political and ideological histories.***

[1] An earlier version of this chapter appeared as Treadwell (1998).

[2] "14. He hewth down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak, which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest: he planteth and ash and the rain doth nourish it. 15. Then shall it be for a man to burn: for he will take thereof, and warm himself; yea he kindleth it, and baked bread; yea he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh a graven image, and falleth down thereto. . ." Isaiah 46:15-20 (The Holy Bible 1860).

[3] 'Moa' is the Tahitian word for 'sacred.' Tahitian was the language used by the missionaries for their early religious work.

having made whitewash, the missionaries mixed it with sand and plastered a section of a chapel under construction, covering it with mats until the next day:

Early on the next morning, they all hastened to see this wonderful sight. The chiefs and common people, men, women, and children, hurried to the spot; and, when the covering was removed, a sheet of beautifully white plastering was presented to their astonished view. All pressed forward to examine it; some smelling it, some scratching it, whilst others took stones and struck it, exclaiming, as they retired, "Wonderful, wonderful! The very stones in the sea, and the sand on the shore, become good property, in the hands of those who worship the true God, and regard his good word (Williams 1838:20).

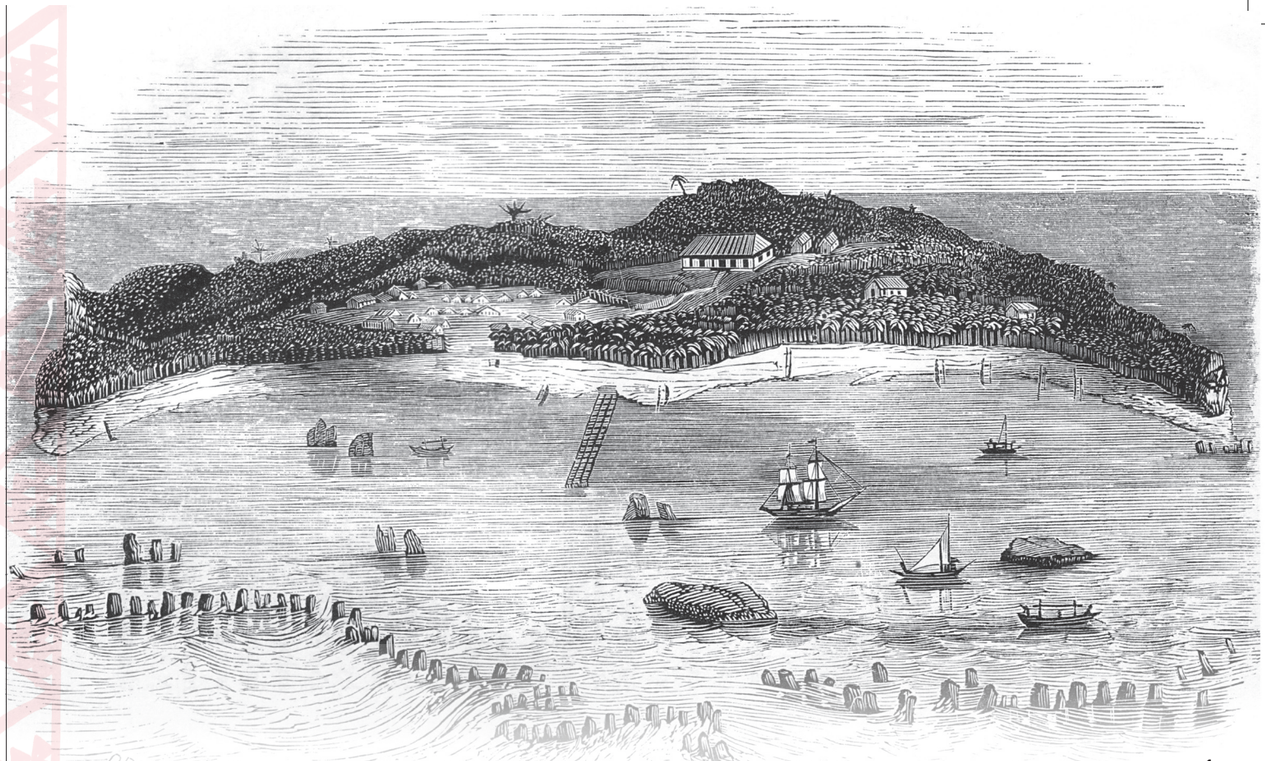
APPROACHING THE ISLANDS

Approaching the Cook Islands, or Hervey Islands as they were then, standing on tilting decks, the missionaries looked to the island coasts for signs of the success or failure of their brethren's endeavours, evidence of which was to be found in architectural form. Journals and images record the missionaries' particular delight when they sighted whitewashed cottages among the vegetation. John Williams, on his trip back to Rarotonga in 1830, cruised towards Avarua, commenting in characteristic fashion, "The neat white cottages that peeped at us through the banana and other trees as we glided along, together with the spacious chapel in the centre of the settlement, presented a most delightful and animated scene" (1838:93). His language, giving visual agency to the architecture, is echoed by a number of images in missionary publications.

In his *Gems from the Coral Islands or, Incidents of Contrast between Savage and Christian life of the South Sea Islanders,* William Gill included an image approaching the settlement of Aitutaki from an impossibly elevated position (Fig.1).

The island of Aitutaki is pictured from an angelic view, from the safety of a cloud, with the image constructing the reef, lagoon, beach, and village into a spatial pattern of missionary endeavours. The sharp, black teeth of the reef signal the perils of a project undertaken against an imagined savagery and heathenism even as it is a guard against the turbulence of the ocean. The lagoon, as a peaceful, productive interior, described by John Williams as "presenting to the imagination the idea of a submarine flower garden or shrubbery of exquisite beauty" (1838:7), is framed in the image between black rocks and a white beach. Ships and canoes shelter in the lagoon's interior. A strip of whiteness, the beach, a defined line of pleasure and violence, is drawn with people and canoes strung along its edge. In a gap in the surrounding vegetation, the new settlement can be seen: white cottages, small pieces of virtue shimmering across the sea to the new arrivals. The impossible, elevated view allowed a rendering of both the larger white houses and a chapel in the context of the sheltering harbour of the new religion, protected from the raw destructive energy of the ocean.

In the engraving, the beach is the whitest zone and is connected to the settlement in an implicit acknowledgement that the creations of the missionary depended upon complex negotiations that took place on the beach, the zone of first contact. The pale faces of the houses receive direct sun, as does the side of the chapel and the engraving carves out the white space of the settlement of the converted, in the context of an undifferentiated vegetative darkness. In the engraved image, the production of whiteness is active; blackness is produced by cutting away from either side of lines left proud to attract black ink, whereas matter, wood, must be removed to create an immaterial whiteness. The black and white work together through difference, creating patterns through designed shifts in figure ground orientation.



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The tranquillity of the image, with its suggestion of a shared productive space, is at odds with the events recounted on the page opposite the published engraving. The text explained that a captain of an English ship, displeased at having to return a sailor to his home on Aitutaki, fired at the chief's house from his ship (located beyond the reef, waiting for a new sailor to board), narrowly missing the chief and others. He then fired over the village and the people retreated inland. The approach of a mission ship, some time after the event, was therefore received with caution.

The story of the violent captain is published next to the aerial image of Aitutaki that depicts an English ship located within the lagoon, within range of the village, and there is a frisson of disquiet in the close proximity of the vessel. The image might be seen as an attempt to rewrite the story, proposing instead a peaceful encounter: a coral jetty projects from the shore suggesting close connections between visitors, commerce and a potential exchange of ideas and people.[4] The settlement of small cottages is visible within a clearing overseen by a large chapel, in a parallel space to the productive zone of the lagoon.

In 1822, at the beginning of a trip designed to bring Christianity to every island in the Cooks, Williams approached the settlement at Aitutaki where they had left orometua (missionary teachers) from the (then) Society Islands 18 months earlier. Sighting a white flag on a flagstaff, the missionaries could assume that the teachers were still alive, and they eventually discovered a settlement of "neat white" architecture (Williams 1838:16). The local people had demolished their marae and built a new chapel, and the plastered cottages, as pictured, gave evidence of Christianity. White buildings reflected back to the missionaries the stories of redemption that they desired. Associated ecclesiastically with ideas of purity, cleanliness, and goodness, the white dwellings were extolled in many of the missionary writings familiar with Judeo-Christian use of white and black to

[4] *Mr Bourne described Aitutaki, "They have built a coral pier, six hundred feet in length, and eighteen feet in breadth. The number of plastered houses in the settlement is one hundred and forty-four, in many of which are bedsteads and sofas" (quoted in Williams 1838:29).*

FIGURE 1
"Island of Aitutaki" (W. Gill 1871:203).

symbolize good and evil. As Anna Johnston has pointed out, "The image of newly built, white-walled, thatched cottages, for example, worked not just as a material symbol, but as one imbued with rich spiritual meaning" (Johnston 2003:121).

The whiteness of the cottages and the churches cleaned away associated possibilities of colour, sensuality, and desire, even as they depended upon colour as a marker of otherness to be remedied (Wigley 1995:5). Admiration for snowy architectural surfaces parallelled observations attached to the bodies of the local population in an acknowledgement of the material, physical, nature of the body of architecture. Williams, on arriving at Rarotonga on 6 May 1827, noted that

we landed, however, in safety amidst the congratulations of the multitude, who had just left the chapel after morning service, and who, compared with what they were when I first visited them, 'were clothed and in their right mind.' All the females wore bonnets, and were dressed in white cloth, whilst the men wore cloths and hats of native manufacture. The change thus presented was peculiarly gratifying (Williams 1838:30).

As well as the architecture, women in particular were encouraged to wear clothing of a pristine pallor. An association of a so-called correctness of thought with the visual appearance of rectitude, ". . . clothed and in their right mind," is a recurrent connection in missionary publications.

Missionary publications carried accounts of the bringing of whitewash to Rarotonga, like the bringing of the Gospel, as a technique for cleansing and covering that which missionaries wished to deny. Whitewash was to be attached to architecture, beliefs and bodies. Williams described the reaction of the Aitutakians to the making of whitewash: "to their utter astonishment, the burnt coral was reduced to a beautiful powder; and they were so surprised and delighted at its softness and whiteness, that they actually whitewashed their hats, and native garments" (1838:20). In missionary accounts, whitewash was applied to clothing as if to a building. Architectural theorist Mark Wigley has pointed to the intentions associated with modern whitewash in 20th-century white architecture: "Supposedly, modern architecture strips off the old clothing of the nineteenth century to show off its new body . . . . The white paint is meant to be the skin of the body rather than a dissimulating layer of clothing" (Wigley 1995:xviii). At Aitutaki, the 19th-century story of the whitewashing of clothing gained another convolution. The whitewashing of the clothing that already concealed brown skin was a twofold layering; it doubly removed the possibility of nakedness of a brown body. Williams described his pleasure in the look of converted women on Mangaia, "We were delighted with the appearance they presented; the females being dressed in beautifully white cloth" (1838:63).

VISITORS' LANDING

There is loose cloth in abundance in an engraving of missionary arrival, reproduced in the Rev. A. Buzacott's book, *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific. Being a Narrative of the Life and Labours of The Rev. A. Buzacott*. The image (Fig.2) shows black-clad Mr Buzacott and lightly coloured Mrs Buzacott and their daughter being carried across land in a boat as they returned to Rarotonga on 4 March 1852 after a 5-year absence. Buzacott wrote,

The hearty welcome we received baffles all description. The poor people had been suffering severely from influenza, but all sickness was forgotten on our arrival. As we neared the shore a simultaneous rush was made for the boat, and soon we found ourselves, boat and all, on the shoulders of the people . . . and we were carried a considerable distance towards our house, before they could be prevailed upon to put down their burden (Buzacott 1866:202).

2

The missionary family is shown leaning over the gunwales and shaking the hands of the crowd that surrounds the boat. Contained and elevated within the space of the boat, they are also isolated from the crowd.

The engraved moment of arrival and greeting is agitated in its construction: a zigzag line can be traced from the hand of the uncertain child, black in silhouette in the foreground, through the waving, reaching arms of the population into the hand holding Rev. Buzacott's hat. Black hand links with white hand and a lineage is suggested, a connection that might persist but was not seen to be without its dangers. The child's mother, in a swirling striped dress (but with her hair covered in a white cloth), joins the men clad in white shirts and trousers. The local people and the missionaries are fully covered in cloth, only faces, hands, and some feet are bare. Cloth, as with the valued tapa or bark cloth, signals its independence from the body where it swirls out and ripples in movement, and the missionary work of concealing is unexpectedly aligned to an image of an abundance of local resource.

In the image, the English sailors, clad in black and white, distinguished from both the converted and the converting, whose labour has been superseded, observe the scene of welcome with detachment. Upright and formal, the resident missionaries are set apart by their immobility and by their hats: a bonnet to preserve the whiteness of fair English skin and a black top hat to lift the man's height above the surrounding populace. In this image, the elevation of the boat is precarious and the figures in the boat give evidence of the swaying movement in the sinusoidal curve of the boat that rolled, in a wave-like progress, up the shore.

Architecture and the nautical are closely connected in the Pacific as architect Mike Austin has pointed out:

Because of the island dependence upon the sea for food, trade and transport, boats are of the utmost importance, and rival the house for priority in the origin myths. Canoe sheds are significant buildings especially in Polynesia. Other buildings represent water craft from the canoe shaped houses of Rapa Nui to the upside down canoe sectioned roofs of the fale *[house]. Nautical construction methods of stays and guys, lashing and binding are used in these buildings rather than the mud and mortar of the earth (Austin 2001:16).*

FIGURE 2
"Missionary welcome" (Buzacott 1866:190).

The images serve as containers of regulatory missionary events held in place by an architecture that in turn restrains the propensity of nature to expand and envelop.

The roofs of fale and Western churches are both described as hulls and containers of people, and the reference is to an inverted boat. On land, upright boats are hard to balance as pictured upside down in the engraving. The gunwales would need to provide stiffening allowing people to bear the weight of the boat on their shoulders with their bodies becoming a beam to carry the load of missionaries. Austin has argued that Pacific architecture is performative, and this image anticipates the move whereby inverted boats were propped above the ground, anticipating a form of architecture that is roof and platform with open sides.

Pictured in the distance is a very different, heavy walled, white missionary architecture illustrating the desired order and organization that was to spread the gospel, even as new technologies were distributed. In the group of stone cottages is a building, recognizable as the two-storey mission school, depicted in the centre of a group of buildings with wide, commanding steps leading down and across a smooth expanse of lawn (Buzacott 1866:140). Behind the "Mission-College," a hill with thick vegetation rises. This spatial organization of an architectural bulwark to a thick wall of foliage, raised above a clearing that renders significant human events visible, recurs in the frontispiece to John Williams's *Narrative* (1838). The images serve as containers of regulatory missionary events held in place by an architecture that in turn restrains the propensity of nature to expand and envelop.

MISSIONARY DWELLING

The frontispiece of Williams's *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* (Fig.3) is a wood engraving illustrating an event deeply desired by the missionaries: the surrender of "idols," which they described as "indelicate heathen objects." A set piece image, with a missionary couple at its centre, depicts an occasion in 1827 when Williams and his wife were forced to remain on Rarotonga following their delivery of new missionaries. Williams wrote, "On our arrival, we found that the teachers had very comfortable houses, one of which they most cheerfully gave up to us. A day or two afterwards, they requested us to take our seat outside the door; and, on doing so, we observed a large concourse of people coming towards us, bearing heavy burdens. They walked in procession, and dropped at our feet fourteen immense idols, the smallest of which was about five yards in length" (Williams 1838:30).

The engraving elaborates a spatial scene of renunciation and destruction in a series of layers; at the back are mountains, 'God's creation,' then a layer of vegetation, seemingly natural wilderness (but possibly gardens), in front of which is a fence, which in turn encloses a house and controlled domestic space, beyond which a smaller, unadorned house can be seen suggesting an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Woven with latticework and diagonal glazing bars, the missionary's house has an enclosed veranda and a gate controlling access through the lattice fence to the interior. A lawn provides the surface for the house, evidence of repressed nature; the luxurious vegetation of the Pacific islands is flattened to become a surface on which the games of the English[5] and the military could be imagined.

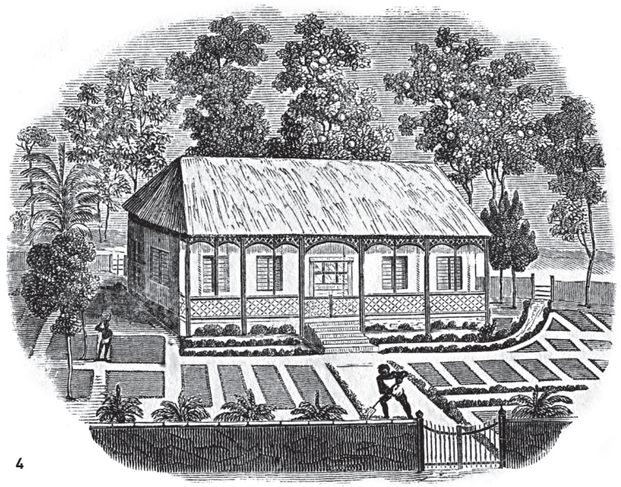
Captain Lord Byron's account of his visit to Ma'uke recognized lawns as part of the new spatial world instigated by the missionaries, framed by a picturesque appreciation: "The road was rough over the fragments of coral, but it wound agreeably through the grove, which improved in beauty as we advanced; and at length, to our surprise and pleasure, terminated in a beautiful green lawn, where were two of the prettiest white-washed cottages imaginable – the dwellings of the Missionaries" (quoted in Williams 1838:24). The Englishness of lawns requires steady rainfall and repetitive, manual labour to maintain; cutting, rolling, re-seeding, a lawn insists on technologies, chemicals, and cyclical patterns of toil. The missionary lawns, pictured in Fig.3, are prefigured in the clearing and the openness that has come to be associated with suburbs, open space that can be observed, controlled, and bounded.

Despite obsessive attention, a lawn is never complete; it always falls short of the required perfection — the perfectly smooth, dense, weed free, deep green that is a dream surface. The fantasy is an orderly, controlled, exterior surface over which the domesticated world lays claim. A surface that, in its occupation by the living, denies the depth of an underworld, the lodging of remnants of life underground. On Ma'uke, Byron was pleased with the lawns, "Close to the church is the burying-place, which is a mound of earth covered with green sward; and the whole has an air of modest simplicity, which delighted no less than surprised us" (quoted in Williams 1838:25). On Rarotonga, the Earl of Pembroke also appreciated the lawns: "Seated in the pleasant verandah, enjoying the cool green of the English grass lawn, the only one worth the name in the islands . . . ." Pembroke nostalgically observed the colour and temperature of Home in the midst of a diatribe about black and white missionary clothing and skin colour (Pembroke 1895:167).

FIGURE 3
"'And the idols he shall utterly abolish' - Isaiah ii. 18" (Williams 1838:frontispiece).

[5] *After attending church on his way to the Mission House, the Earl of Pembroke remarked upon the lawns at Rarotonga, "we sauntered up to the mission-house . . . past a cricket-ground in course of preparation . . ." (Pembroke 1895:165).*

"Rectilinear boundary structures repeat the geometry of the house with fences and layers of encircling paths. A hierarchy of gates can be observed. The patchwork of the garden, small repetitions of containment, dark on light, start to flicker."



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Across the lawn in Williams's frontispiece image is another fence, on the other side of which is a road on which the rejection of the idols takes place. The setting for the scene anticipates the current suburban environment with the encounter occurring outside the private, domestic realm and within the public space of the road. The image, like the previous illustration, is a scene of an encounter between local inhabitants and the newly arrived missionaries. As a desired commodity, the missionaries were tidal — always arriving and leaving — and with the two sets of missionaries, a strange coupling pervades the scene.

Each couple, pictured in their clothing as both black and white, sits on either side of a corner of the fence, angled away from each other. An idol, carried upright on a frame, is borne toward the missionaries by white clad, converted men. On the dust of the road, at the feet of the missionaries, are the discarded objects of worship, the cloth wrapping of which, as Rod Dixon (this volume) has demonstrated, ended up ornamenting the roof structures of the new churches. The caption of the engraving quotes Isaiah 2:18, "And the idols he shall utterly abolish," but the idols were not all abolished. Although Isaiah suggested that idols should end up with the moles and the bats, the missionaries removed several of the idols to London to be displayed as curiosities in museums.

In the precise black and white image of missionary and architect Aaron Buzacott's own house (Fig.4), a policing of boundaries and territories can be seen in the multiplying borders. As Richard Dyer wrote, "clear boundaries are characteristic of things white . . . and . . . [are] what keeps whites clearly distinct from blacks. The importance of the process of boundary establishment and maintenance has long been recognised in discussions of stereotyping and representation" (1988:51). Rectilinear boundary structures repeat the geometry of the house with fences and layers of encircling paths. A hierarchy of gates can be observed. The patchwork of the garden, small repetitions of containment, dark on light, start to flicker. The figure of the gardener, striking against the dazzle of the path, in its exaggeration, suggests the possibility of limits to tight binary structuring. Whitewash in missionary Cook Islands was not simply white; it depended on lines of blackness to insist on, to purify the extremity of white skin. Another indeterminate figure, however, inhabits a junction of the garden.

FIGURE 4
"Mr Buzacott's residence, in imitation of which the King's was built" (Williams 1838:123).

Timber framework and sinnet lashing upheld construction of the local architecture and the first missionary chapels; plaster clung to a network of local, fibrous materials. According to Rev. Buzacott,

The original native hut was merely a respectable shed; the tall posts, the ridge pole, and rafters, constituted the entire framework. The roof and sides were covered in with a thatch made of the palmetta leaf . . . . The wretched huts were removed, and comfortable detached cottages for each family were erected . . . built of wood, wattled and plastered with lime obtained from the coral (Buzacott 1866:211).

The woven nature of the local architecture with its permeable and airy nature was to be sealed away with a coat of plaster and surfaces to be re-defined.

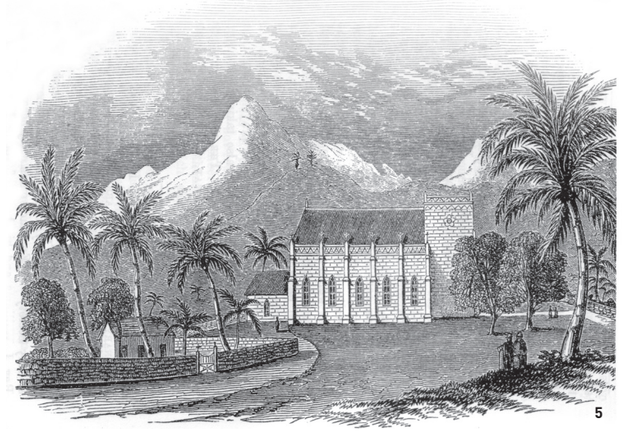
Buzacott sought a more permanent architecture for his church building. Described as an amateur architect, he "made his first experiments in coral building by erecting small cottages of two rooms each for the native students. Having gained some experience by this means, he ventured upon the more ambitious undertaking" which was the design and construction of the large church at Avarua, Rarotonga (Buzacott 1866:217).

CHURCH BUILDING

In the engraving (Fig.5), the building is organized in its proportions and rhythms with black lines of geometry incised into the surface of the coral plaster.[6] The architecture in the image is precisely structured, the lancet windows have arched glazing bars, the buttresses are finished with finials, and the tower has a band of triangulated patterning. In the side of the tower, a window refers to a traditional rose window, while the tower is overshadowed by distant mountain peaks. With its traces of Norman and Gothic, the architecture is resolutely English, and the park-like setting with lawn, specimen trees, and wandering figures, is exoticized only by the coconut palms and the misty mountains behind. A small missionary dwelling is pictured securely enclosed by a heavy wall.

In a very similar engraved image in Buzacott's own volume (Fig.6, over page) the tower is topped by a weather vane and the mountains are reduced in size; the architectural work of Buzacott himself is preeminent.

The large faux coral blocks shine out from the shadow of the trees, the building returning an image of (suspect) ordered whiteness to anxious missionaries. Whiteness, part of the visual rhetoric of the mission, may have been used to signify an idea of a new order, but the clarity of its intention to legitimate



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[6] *See the discussion on the inscribed surfaces of the church in Budgett (2007:127, and this volume).*

FIGURE 5
"Chapel, Avarua" (W. Gill 1871:25).

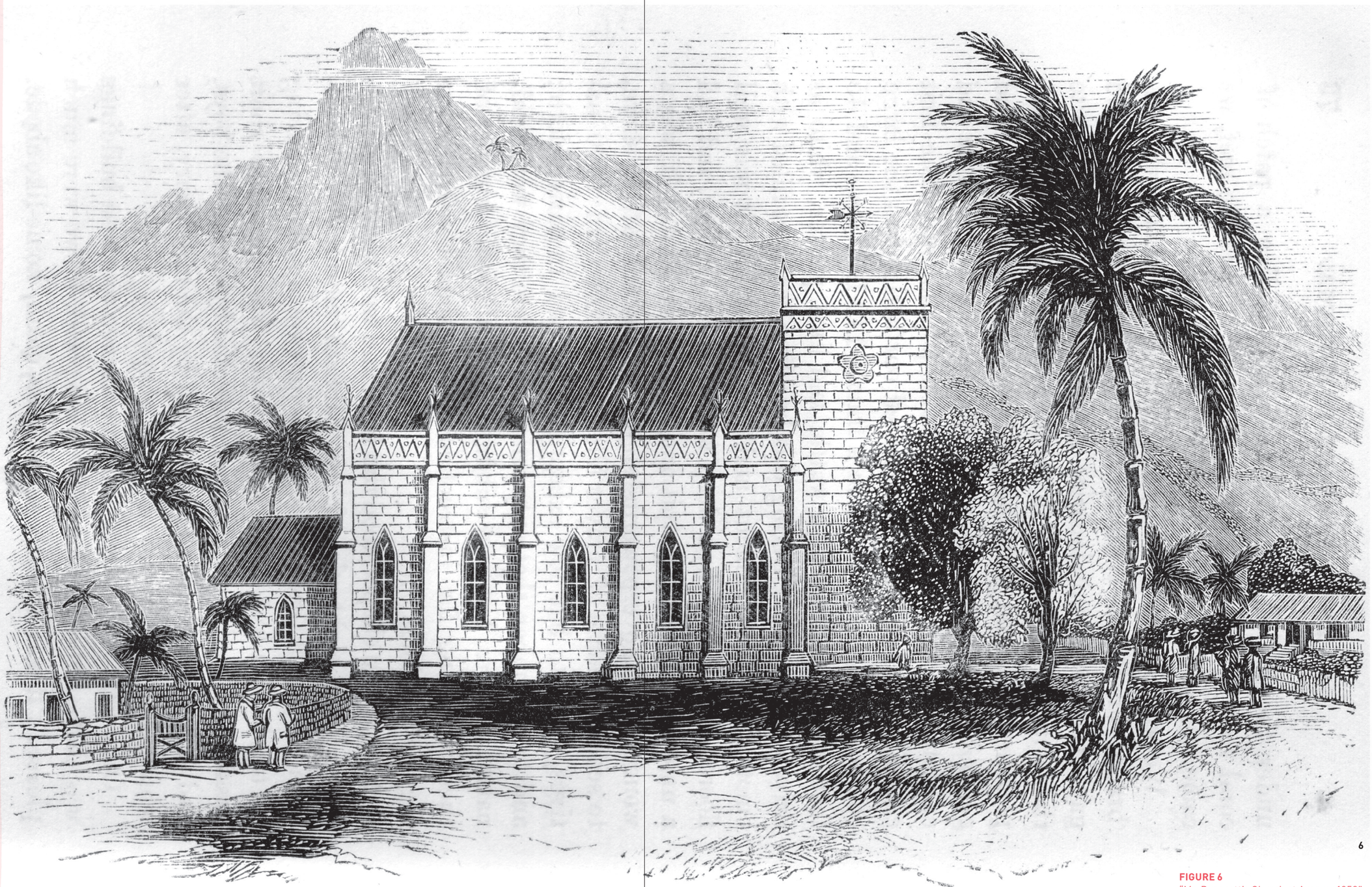

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FIGURE 6
"Mr. Buzacott's Church at Avarua, 1853" (Buzacott 1866:209).

the presence of organized English religion was persistently at odds with its propensity both to dazzle and to stain. Some visiting Europeans viewed with disquiet the architecture of the church. The Earl of Pembroke commented vitriolically on the church, "Raritonga [sic] . . . has a real stone church - a church as the churches of Britain! Oh, that church! that church! that vile black and white stone abomination . . ." (1895:161-162).

Blackness and whiteness, structured as opposites, are dependent for their effect on that opposition, but for Pembroke, it seems that a darkness spread across the surface of the church: "The thing [church] is an abomination, and the man who designed it ought to be grated slowly to pulp against its black and doleful walls" (1895:162). In his hatred for missionaries, not only do the white walls get redesignated as black, but also the cruel image of a grated body stains the surface of the church a bloody red. Pembroke reviled the black-clad, white-collared missionaries and converts: "Why a minister of light and purity should dress in garments more suited in colour to the worship of the devil himself I could never make out" (Pembroke 1895:167). The violence of missionary proceedings is repeated in Pembroke's anti-missionary strictures, and the simplicity of a black and white world is undone.

The neat white cottages that preceded the church building did not persist. James Chalmers, a later missionary, noted,

There were several stone cottages, mostly unoccupied. They had been built to please Mr Buzacott, and then left, as the people preferred their reed houses, which were also much more suitable to the climate, as the air passed freely through them, yet without draft, and the women understood better how to keep them tidy. But the stone houses, with their closed windows and the dirty plastered walls, appeared out of place in that land, and the people looked far better in their native dwellings. The chief too had a fine stone house of five rooms, but dwelt in a reed cottage (Robson 1903:32).

Whiteness absorbs the material atmosphere of its surroundings, losing its pristine quality and catching the physical world, it gains complexity.

CONCLUSION

The engravings discussed in this chapter do not explicitly utilize the conventions of orthogonal architectural drawing, but they use a perspective structure that is the technique of public presentation of architecture. These readings, focusing on representations of missionary buildings, consider architecture as an unexamined background of missionary ideologies. The images and descriptions of the architecture offer another version of built structures that still stand in the Cook Islands. Recording the spatial strategies of the missionaries for dealing with their aversion to the shared, permeable, open architecture of the Cook Islands, these black and white 19th-century engravings record the moment when the two architectures both existed — a situation that did not last.

The missionaries proposed policing of boundaries, sealing of surfaces, and separating by enclosure: a white coral architecture, closed and weighty, with precise geometry and reiterated borders isolated from its surrounding environment. The whiteness, however, was itself subject to staining, even as the black clothes of the missionaries grew green with age (and green English lawns turned brown). The black and white engravings now have been replaced with other images, other constructions, that imagine the Cook Islands in bright, highly saturated colours. The whiteness of the missionary architecture has been displaced into other fabricated accounts of generic, colourful Pacific Islands.

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GLOSSARY

fale	house (Samoan)
marae	sacred ground
moa	sacred (Tahitian Māohi)
noa	secular, desacrilized
orometua	missionary teacher, pastor

Chapter Nineteen

FIGHTING FIRE WITH FIRE
THE RAROTONGAN ICONOCLASM AND ITS AFTERMATH

Jeffrey Sissons

Alfred Gell productively defined the anthropology of art as the "theoretical study of social relations in the vicinity of objects mediating social agency" (Gell 1998:7). For Gell, the anthropology of art, like social anthropology in general, was primarily about social relationships and culture had "no existence independently of its manifestations in social interactions" (Gell 1998:14). In this article, I focus on certain social relations in the vicinity of large 19th-century Rarotongan churches and marae — fenced or walled enclosures containing god-houses ('are atua) within which were stored wrapped ancestral poles (ki'iki'i). Following Gell, I assume that these churches and marae mediated social relations; however, I depart from his approach in proposing that we regard these large and complex 'art' objects, not as indexes of agency but as materializations of competing social fields. A brief critique of Gell's analysis of Māori meeting houses will serve to clarify the distinctiveness of my approach.

Following Thomas (1995), Gell argued that Māori meeting houses should not be viewed as mere symbolic forms. Instead, they were indexes of agency that manifested through their distribution in time and space an "inter-indexical space–time field" which was structurally isomorphic to mind or consciousness — both the material field and Husserlian consciousness consisted of a "series of transformations of contents (images) over time" (Gell 1998:228). The collective Māori consciousness reflected in the distribution of meeting houses was, according to Gell, a "competitive spirit" that turned away from war towards buildings as a means of impressing and intimidating rivals (Gell 1998:251). All were indexes of a common agency — projections of "a common ideological and political purpose" (Gell 1998:252). Temporally distributed within an indexical field that was isomorphic with Māori collective consciousness, meeting houses were both 'memories,' in objective form, of earlier meeting houses and 'sketches' that embodied the threat of a super meeting house materializing some time in the future.

I agree with Gell (and Thomas) that meeting houses need to be understood as more than symbols. In addition to being meaningful objects, they were community projects and, like Bourdieu's Kabyle house, they were structured spaces for collective activity — differentiated and differentiating spaces in and around which men and women, hosts and guests, leaders and supporters defined their relations with each other. Moreover, the spatial distribution of meeting houses followed and reinforced patterns of land ownership and residence. But meeting houses were also, therefore, more than indexes of agency, collective or otherwise. Instead, like the Rarotongan churches I describe in this article, they were materializations of social fields that were animated — reproduced and transformed — by complex and sometimes contradictory forms of agency.

Certainly, some meeting houses were built by communities which competed with each other for prestige, but the history of meeting house construction can hardly be reduced to such competition. As I have shown elsewhere (Sissons 1998), meeting houses were initially built in order to materialize collective resistance to colonialism. They subsequently became aestheticized and traditionalized for a tourist market and in the 1920s and 1930s they were adopted by Apirana Ngata (Minister of Native Affairs) as symbols of Māori pride and indexes of future Māori strength. In the 1930s and 1940s, they became state-assisted projects for rural communities, and in some instances, a competitive spirit developed around their construction and decoration. But what is most striking about the spatio-temporal distribution of meeting houses is the way in which they materialized a new social order out of a society that had become radically fragmented as a result of colonial military campaigns, epidemics, and the individualization of land-ownership through the machinations of the Native Land Court. Through the construction of meeting houses, Māori society became more fully a 'house society' and to a large extent rural Māori society remains one today (Sissons 2010).

> ***"Through the construction of meeting houses, Māori society became more fully a 'house society' and to a large extent rural Māori society remains one today."***

In this chapter, I argue that 19th-century Rarotongan churches, like Māori meeting houses, materialized a radically transformed social field. In particular, political relations between district leaders (ariki), subdistrict leaders (mata'iapo) and the common people ('iti tangata) were conceptualized and practised very differently in and around churches than they had been in and around marae. In the first decade following the introduction of Christianity, however, marae materialized an alternative and competing social field to that of the churches. To put it more succinctly, the introduction of Christianity to Rarotonga entailed the dialectical creation of two competing social fields: one, an integrated island of three districts under the collective mana of ariki materialized in three churches;

The buring of marae was a prelude to local appropriations of Christianity.

the other, an island of sub-districts under the mana of independent mataʻiapo materialized in independent sub-district marae.

My conceptualization of 'social field' has been influenced by the writings of Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:94–115). In his reworking of his famous structural analysis of the Kabyle house, Bourdieu suggested that, when accounting for the endurance of social relations, we need to consider the unconscious embodiment of conceptual and practical structures in relation to the agency of material forms. Material forms are both objectifications of conceptual and practical schemes and "structuring structures" that actively contribute to the endurance and transformation of these schemes. Bourdieu demonstrated that the Kabyle house both objectifies and "inculcates" representational and practical orders: "Through the intermediary of the divisions and hierarchies it sets up between things, persons and practices, this tangible classifying system continuously inculcates and reinforces the taxonomic principles underlying all arbitrary provisions of this culture" (1977:89). Bourdieu extended this idea into a general theory of the "dialectic of objectification and embodiment" and proposed that "the mental structures which construct the world of objects are constructed in the practice of the world of objects constructed according to the same structures" (1977:91). Taken to its logical extreme, this is to conceive of social life as generated from a single 'sovereign' plan, a view I would reject. Instead, I think we have to view objectification and embodiment as continually adjusting to each other as social fields are formed and transformed.

A field consists of an arrangement of social positions that reflect a distribution of economic, symbolic, and cultural capital. Positions within a field are associated with different dispositions, and hence the agency of any particular individual is always, in part, a reflection of both their position within a field and the structure of the field itself. When social fields are materialized in such objects as churches and marae, these objects become social sites in, through, and around which a set of relationships between positions (a social field) is conceptualized and practised. The practising of social relations in and around such sites and the symbolic representation of these relations through such sites are of equal significance for the reproduction and transformation of social fields. Churches and marae are not, therefore, considered here as indexes of agency but are, instead, understood as sites in and through which social relations that constitute the grounds of agency are formed and transformed. In other words, materialization is here treated as integral to the historical emergence and transformation of social fields in 19th-century Rarotonga. It is to this historical process I now turn.

RAROTONGA, COOK ISLANDS, 1824

In February 1824, the daughter of Makea, high chief of the Te Au o Tonga district, fell gravely ill. Probably suspecting sorcery, Makea sought the advice of Papeiha, a London Missionary Society (LMS) evangelist who had arrived on the island some six months earlier. Papeiha urged the ariki to "embrace the Gospel" pray, and set fire to his marae. Papeiha wrote, "They set fire to his marae; the flames extended to two other adjacent, and destroyed them. Next day his daughter recovered" (Williams n.d.[b]:292).

Similar burnings had recently occurred in Raiatea (Society Islands) and Aitutaki (Cook Islands, north of Rarotonga), as a prelude to local appropriations of Christianity in these places. In Aitutaki, where Papeiha had spent 22 months as a LMS evangelist before coming to Rarotonga, the sickness of a chief's daughter had also sparked the initial destruction. When the daughter died the high chief "sent his son to set fire to his marae; two other maraes, being very near, caught the fire and were [also] destroyed" (Williams n.d.[a]:46). Soon after, there was a conflagration in which all the marae on the island were burned; all carved wooden images that escaped the flames were said to have been given over to the missionary. The similarity between this account and that of the Rarotonga burning is remarkable, but I do not think it necessarily calls into question the veracity of either or both. Rather, it seems that the sickness of Makea's daughter provided Papeiha with an opportunity to stage a repeat of his Aitutaki show, an act that was possibly supported by Makea because he feared the consequences of not doing so.

But Papeiha's re-staging of his Aitutaki performance was to have dramatically different consequences in Rarotonga. Unlike Aitutaki, which was headed by a single ariki, Rarotonga was (and is) divided into three districts, termed vaka (canoes). To the west of Makea's district, Puaikura was under the ritual and military leadership of Tinomana Ariki; to the east of Makea, two ariki, Pa and Kainuku, held authority over the Takitumu district. Immediately prior to Papeiha's arrival in Rarotonga, the three districts had been engaged in a bitter military conflict lasting some seven years, out of which the people of the Takitumu district had emerged victorious. It was the ariki of the defeated

FIGURE 1
Makea, ariki of Te Au o Tonga. Engraving copied from a camera obscura image taken by Rev. A. Buzacott (in Sunderland and Buzacott 1866:140).

FIGURE 2
Papeiha, London Missionary Society evangelist (from Gill 1856:227).

districts who were the first to burn their marae buildings and destroy their divine images. Although, later, the ariki of Takitumu followed suit, they were unable to convince many of their mata'iapo of the wisdom of their actions.

In a comment appended to Papeiha's account of the Rarotonga burnings, the LMS missionary John Williams noted that "the destruction of idolatry" became general in March 1824 (Williams to LMS 2 Feb 1825). Maretu, a Rarotongan who witnessed the destruction, wrote that Tinomana burned "all the idols in Puaikura" and in Makea's district "not one was left" (Maretu 1983:60). But he also makes it clear that there was considerable resistance to the destruction of marae and "idols" in the Takitumu district. Here, there were attempts to kill Papeiha and his fellow evangelist Tiberio and the inland marae of this district were left undisturbed (Maretu 1983:62). Inland Takitumu would become the base for a determined campaign, led by priests and mata'iapo, to rid their island of missionaries, churches, and Christianity.

Setting fire to the wooden god-houses built within walled or fenced marae enclosures was not new to Rarotonga – it had been common during periods of warfare as each side attempted to destroy the source of the other's mana (Pitman, Journals 1827:119, 1834:106). Normally, god-houses destroyed by fire were rebuilt. This time, they were replaced by a single, colossal church loosely modelled on an enormous 'Royal Chapel' that had been built in Tahiti five years earlier (Sissons 2014:88). Two LMS emissaries who witnessed the construction of this church in June 1824, reported that it was intended to be 600 feet (ft) long, an astounding size given that Winchester Cathedral, the longest cathedral in England, measures only 550 ft from end to end (Tyerman and Bennet 1831:121; Beaglehole 1957:22). But then it probably needed to be this large if it was to accommodate the 3,000 or so people who had recently abandoned their villages and moved to the new settlement at Avarua, in Makea's district (Williams 1839:101). Within the church, the congregation was divided into two sections, no doubt reflecting the recent military conflict between the Takitumu district and the other two districts. The two Raiatean evangelists preached simultaneously from two pulpits, one at each end of the very long building (Gill 1856:28).

In 1827, the Christian population of Rarotonga moved, en masse, to the Takitumu district where a second large church was constructed. By 1830, the pre-Christian division of the island into three 'canoes' had become materialized in the form of three large churches, one in each of the three main settlements. In the valleys of the interior of the island, especially inland Takitumu, local priests and sub-district chiefs maintained their marae and mounted a determined resistance to the Christian priests. An inland priest contemptuously described Papeiha and Tiberio as "two rotten sticks driven on shore by the waves" (Williams 1839:153).

INDIGENIZED CHURCHES

The new churches were termed 'are pure (prayer houses). Prior to their construction, the most tapu (sacred) buildings in Rarotonga were the god-houses ('are atua) located within marae. As their name suggests, they housed the wooden images of ancestral gods — long wrapped poles named ki'iki'i. The construction of 'are atua was an elaborate and ritually bounded process, the central focus of which was the erection of large upright posts. Tinomana Ariki told the missionary William Gill that

The principal things of importance were the posts of the house . . . when prepared these posts were brought, with great ceremony, to the spot of the marae. Wide and deep pits were then dug into which

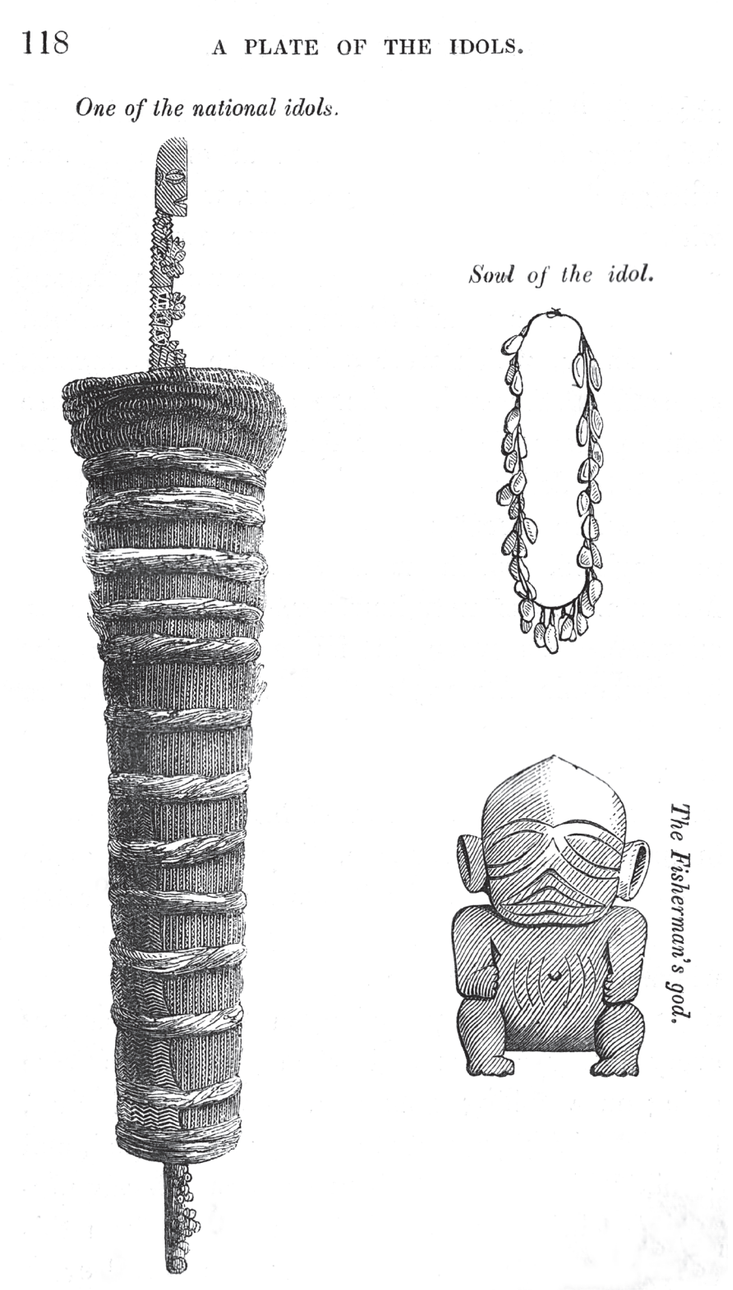

FIGURE 3
Rarotongan god staff (above left) and "the manava or soul of the god" (above right) Williams 1837:118).

> ***At one end, was a representation of a divine ancestor (an atua), at the other, a representation of his life-giving phallus.***

native cloth . . . and other articles were thrown. The posts were erected by the priest, and placed with great care on those articles while the assembled crowd would shout the name of the god to whom the marae was dedicated (Letter quoted by Siikala 1991:118).

Posts were also a central feature of the first Rarotongan churches and the manner in which these were carved strongly suggests that people were consciously incorporating elements of the ‘are atua into the new structures. Williams, who visited the ruins of the first church in 1827, wrote, “One of the most striking peculiarities was the presence of many indelicate heathen figures carved on the posts . . . the builders thought that the figures with which they decorated the maraes [i.e. ‘are atua] would be equally ornamental in the main pillars of the Christian sanctuary” (Williams 1839:104-105). Poles of another kind were housed within the ‘are atua. These were the elaborately carved ki‘iki‘i, up to 20 ft long and 4 to 6 inches in diameter. At one end, was a representation of a divine ancestor (an atua), at the other, a representation of his life-giving phallus. The poles were wrapped in many yards of bark cloth so that they appeared to the missionaries as huge bundles, 6 to 9 ft in circumference. Between the cloth and the wooden pole, a small bunch of red feathers was placed along with a string of polished pearl-shell fragments that represented the soul (manava) of the god (Williams 1839:98-99).

A close association between the ki‘iki‘i and the posts of the first church is evident in the way that the pillars were wrapped during construction. Maretu, who witnessed the construction process, tells us that the posts and ridge-poles were covered with a form of bark cloth (Maretu 1983:65). The second large church, built in the Takitumu district in 1827, also included carvings — probably the head portions of ki‘iki‘i — hung from wrapped rafters. The missionary added, “It was agreed that the rafters of the church should be covered with the cloth from two of the vaerua kino or idols which they formerly worshipped. Their idols are immensely large” (Pitman, Journal, 1827:16).

A few days after his arrival in 1827, Williams had witnessed the unwrapping of the ‘idols’ and the setting aside of some of these for incorporation into the church: “They walked in procession and dropped at our feet fourteen immense idols, the smallest of which was about five yards in length . . . some of these idols were torn to pieces before our eyes; others were reserved to decorate the rafters of the chapel we proposed to erect” (Williams 1839:98-99; see also Fig.4).

William Gill did not arrive in Rarotonga until 1839, 10 years after this church had burned down. However, his description, based on oral accounts from missionaries and Rarotongans, is the most detailed we have of this important building:

It was one hundred and fifty feet long, and fifty-six feet wide. Its thatched roof was supported on either side by seven ironwood pillars, twenty-five feet high. There were ten doors, three at each side and two at each end, and twenty windows of Venetian blinds; at the request of the people, some of their former ‘autiki’ or carved gods were stripped of their sacred bark cloth and hung from the rafters (Gill 1871:14-15; see also Gill 1856:32-33).

The wrapping and re-wrapping of ki‘iki‘i housed in ‘are atua on marae was the privilege of ta‘unga – priests and guardians of the marae. In adverse circumstances, when divine ancestors had deserted their kin, or when additional support was required from ancestors, ta‘unga ordered that their ki‘iki‘i be reconstructed. The missionary Charles Pitman was told:

When the god was displeased the prophets would open the door to their sacred places (Maraes) [i.e. ’are atua] and sweep away the dust, cobwebs etc. from the floor where their god was placed and from their deity also. The prophet would then take off his robes (immense rolls of native cloth) and carefully examine it as he unfolded it. They often found the excrements of rats, their nests etc., in it and large holes eaten by these sacrilegious intruders which, when discovered, the prophet would inform the people of the cause of the anger of their deity and give orders for fresh cloth to be made and a new ki’iki’i be adzed out as the only means of appeasing the anger of their offended god (Pitman, Journal, 1833:207; see also Campbell 2001:92, 167, 202).

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FIGURE 4
“They . . . dropped at our feet fourteen immense idols . . .” (*Journal of Civilization*, 16 October 1841).

Pitman further noted that if this procedure was unsuccessful, a new marae, containing a new ‘are atua, was often constructed in order that the anger of Tangaroa or some other deity might be appeased (Pitman, Journal, 1834:106; see also Campbell 2001:167).

As wrapped ‘gods,’ ki‘iki‘i were similar in form to Tahitian to‘o — pieces of wood of varying lengths wrapped in bark cloth and/or sennit cord. In a recent discussion of the ceremonial unwrapping of to‘o, Babadzan suggests that their coverings be viewed as veils or screens, the removal of which was understood by Tahitians to be a dangerous act of exposure (2003:36). The removal of cloth from to‘o exposed “a rough piece of wood, not a carving,” and Babadzan argues that the lack of decoration invoked, for observers, an abstract, absent creator. It is unlikely that the exposure of the carved ki‘iki‘i would have had the same

significance for Rarotongans. However, Babadzan also notes that Tahitians made a distinction between 'dressed' and 'undressed' to'o that corresponded to a distinction between life and death (2003:30). If, as seems to have been the case in Tahiti, unwrapping to'o turned them into corpses, then it is likely that wrapping had the opposite significance: it restored or renewed the mana of the object, giving it renewed life. If this was so, then perhaps we can interpret the wrapping of the church rafters with 'sacred' bark cloth as a charging of the building with life-giving mana.

By 1830, Rarotonga had three large indigenous churches, one in each district: Takitumu's built in 1827, a new church built in Te Au o Tonga in 1828, and a church completed in Puaikura in 1829. Together, these three buildings materialized a new social field in which ariki had concentrated and centralized their power. This centrality was further materialized in the inclusion of a throne for Makea Ariki within the first church (Maretu 1983:66).

Churches were built by the people at the request of ariki (or their priests), and in positively responding to this request, mata'iapo were publicly displaying their loyalty to the ariki. This practice, termed 'arevananga, normally followed the conferment of a new ariki title, public recognition being signalled in this case through the building of a new house — an 'are ariki — for the high chief. It is recorded, for example, that in recognition of the legitimacy of a new Pa Ariki, people of the land supplied the timber for his house as a "sign of his overlordship" (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB I:30). The people of Muri, in the Takitumu district, likewise built a house for Karika Ariki:

There was work to be done on the house of Karika (viz.) an iron or shingle roof, and all of these rangatiras [chiefs appointed by mata'iapo] came to do this work. They did the work, that is proof of their being under Karika, that is the ancient custom. The ui rangatira [chiefs collectively] assisted the arikis in their work. And the mataiapos the same (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB I:309).

Rangatira and mata'iapo also supplied large pigs for a feast held to celebrate the completion of the roof (MB I:308). Immediately prior to the arrival of the evangelist Papeiha in Rarotonga, peace was made between the ariki of the Takitumu district (Pa and Kainuku) and the ariki of Te Au o Tonga (Makea). The former called upon their people to build a new house for Makea adjacent to his court. Maretu tells us that "each person provided a piece of timber and pandanus leaves and the house was completed in one day" (Maretu 1983:53).

These 'are ariki were, like 'are atua, highly tapu buildings. Indeed, it appears that like ariki, ki'iki'i, and churches, their mana was renewed or imparted through wrapping. At least, this is suggested in evidence given before the Land Court in 1903. Te Ura told the court:

I knew Potikitaua Puruariki. I was present at the installation of Tinomana [as ariki]. Rei's mother and Vaimotu held the maro [loin cloth] and wound it around Tinomana. It was [Rei's mother] who put the maros on the arikis. At the opening of Makea's house [named] 'Enua manu', the mother of this boy, Te Rei, wound the cloth around the house and sprinkled it with European scent, before they all danced (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB I:320).

The climax of the ceremony in which a new ariki title was conferred involved the wrapping of the ariki with a maro — a named loin cloth. It appears from the Land Court evidence just cited that after the maro ceremony, the newly constructed 'are ariki was also wrapped by women. Throughout Polynesia, women performed vital roles in mediating the world of atua and that of humanity, hence their prominent role in this context.

In calling upon their people to build churches, ariki were, therefore, acting in accordance with the custom of 'arevananga. Church construction was a massive undertaking in which the people of each district were required to supply the timber, thatching, and labour. It is also clear that through their participation in the building of the first great church, some mata'iapo signalled loyalty to ariki. But if mata'iapo could signal their allegiance to ariki through offering materials and labour for their houses, they could signal dissent through withholding them (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB I:121).

Maretu tells us that the building of the first church was a joint venture orchestrated by the ariki of all three districts. Makea and Tinomana sponsored the feast given after the site for the church had been cleared and the other two ariki of the Takitumu district sponsored the feast once the ridge poles and upright posts had been cut — "timber for the ridge poles and posts being contributed by each high chief and the mata'iapo until the whole building was provided for" (Maretu 1983:65). The people of the dominant Takitumu district worked for their ariki on one side of the building while those of the Te Au o Tonga and Puaikura districts worked on the other. At one point during the construction process, a dispute arose within the Takitumu camp, and as a result, nine mata'iapo switched their allegiance to Te Au o Tonga. This allegiance continues to be expressed into the present (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB IX:358-359). Maretu reports, however, that this shift of allegiance occurred later, at the time of the building of a house for Papehia and Tiberio (1983:69).

The new social field materialized in churches was one in which the three districts of Rarotonga were more closely integrated than they had been for many generations. The ariki were at peace and were remarkably united. As an expression of this unity, the three churches were soon to be linked by a coastal road that encircled the island. The name for this road, Ara Tapu (sacred path), was possibly taken from an earlier road, which is today called the Ara Metua (ancient path).

The Ara Metua, like the new Ara Tapu, encircled the island, but rather than connecting churches, it had connected high-status marae inland from the coastal road. Marae and stone seats for ariki and mata'iapo had been built alongside this road and neat black and white pebble pathways led from it to houses on the inland side (Williams 1839:176). Annual processions had travelled this road during a seasonal period known as 'aka'au atua (uniting gods): "When it came to the period of 'aka'au atua (the month of June) the small people ['iti tangata] held festivals; they performed the 'eva-tipa [an elaborate costume drama] and other festivals which were held in different localities until they had made a round of the island" (Te Ariki-tara-are 1921:131). Other processions are described as having been "led by the gods" — presumably they were led by priests carrying carved and wrapped ki'iki'i (Te Ariki-tara-are 1921). Papeiha left a valuable description of a related ceremony that he witnessed on neighbouring Aitutaki in 1822 in which wrapping with bark cloth featured prominently:

The people clothe themselves with the finest of their cloth and make a tour round the island. Before they set out they go to the marae and cover the kings [ariki] with cloth in abundance. They leave the marae, every one, with a large piece of wood on his shoulder which they use in the separation of the wrestlers, for when they leave the marae and make a tour of the island they wrestle in every district (Williams n.d.[a]:14).

The Rarotongan churches I have been describing here were complex art objects spatially connected to each other via a road that encircled the island. Together, they materialized a new social field in which the three districts of

Rarotonga were more closely integrated under the collective mana of ariki than they had been in the recent past and probably for generations. In materializing this integration, churches fused elements of ‘are atua with introduced elements thus encompassing the tapu of earlier structures. Church posts were carved in the manner of those that supported ‘are atua, church rafters were wrapped with bark cloth that had been used to wrap the ki‘iki‘i stored in ‘are atua, and the ki‘iki‘i themselves were hung from the rafters of the church. Churches were built through the collective labour of the entire Christian population, following a practice that signalled collective support for a new social order centred on ariki and their new priests. Both churches and ariki were sacred centres around which new settlements were created and a new social field was made manifest.

Churches were, therefore, more than indexes of ariki agency, priestly agency, or popular agency. They were complex material forms that encompassed those of an earlier social order and that embodied an alternative future society. Churches at the centres of Christian settlements were physical spaces in which relations between ariki, priests, and people were practised and conceptualized in new ways, and they were connected places through which peaceful cooperation between districts might be perpetuated. However, for some mata‘iapo, this encompassment amounted to usurping their independence, domination that had to be resisted through the destruction of those material forms that had enabled it.

DEMATERIALIZING SOCIAL FIELDS

When Robert Bourne of the LMS visited Rarotonga in 1825, he estimated the population of Rarotonga to be between 6,000 and 7,000 with the Christians numbering between 3,500 and 4,000 (Bourne n.d.:263-264). This suggests that, while the people supporting the ariki were in a majority, a significant number — perhaps around 2,000 — were opposed to the actions of their high chiefs and their new priests. These people retained their allegiance to opposing mata‘iapo and priests, an allegiance that was materialized in marae and ki‘iki‘i that now had to be protected from Christians who were intent on destroying them.

The destruction of marae and capture of ki‘iki‘i continued to be a preoccupation of Christians for some years after the construction of the first church. Following a conflict between Christians and non-Christians a few months prior to Bourne’s visit, the ariki demanded that the non-Christians should pay “an idol and a pig” as compensation for the blood that had been shed. When these were not forthcoming, Papeiha and Tiberio, the latter armed with a musket, led an attack on an inland settlement, plundering their property and capturing their ki‘iki‘i. The latter were delivered into the hands of the ariki and their new priests (Bourne n.d.:261-262; Maretu 1983:70-71). Bourne was moved by the sight of the captured ki‘iki‘i and wrote: “the cumbrous deities, fourteen in number (being 20 feet long and six in[ches] diameter) are now lying prostrate like Dagon of old before the ark” (Bourne n.d.:262). These may have been the same deities that were later ‘torn to pieces’ in front of Williams. (The temple of Dagon was where, according to 1 Samuel, the Philistines placed the captured ark of God. The following morning the statue of their main god was found to have fallen over.)

Prior to the arrival of Christianity, the primary military divisions were between districts and their ariki, but by 1828, these military lines had been radically redrawn. The new alignment was between a 1,000-strong army, formed to defend the ariki and their new priests, and an opposing group led by around 70 ta‘unga (priests). The missionary, William Gill later wrote:

Seventy of them [priests] vowed a vow over the sacred fires in their temple [i.e. marae] and, in the name of the gods, resolved to die rather than submit to the Gospel. These priests were aided and sustained by some of the great men of the land [mata‘iapo] who did all they could to involve the two settlements in war (Gill 1871:15; see also Gill 1856:34).

Marae, ki‘iki‘i, and the ‘ara metua materialized a competing political field to that of the churches in which certain mata‘iapo and holders of subsidiary titles (rangatira) sought to retain a high degree of local independence expressed through their ritual allegiance to distinctive atua (divine ancestors) associated with particular titles and sub-districts. By the late 1820s, it had become clear to many of these leaders that their continued independence required not only the maintenance of their marae, but also the destruction of the churches and the killing of the ariki and their missionary priests.

In mid-1828, therefore, at around the time that the ‘aka‘au atua festivities were normally held, the opposition groups began an intensified military campaign against the Christians and their churches. The immediate trigger was the promulgation, by the ariki and missionaries, of a code of oppressive laws that would have restricted movement, required church attendance, and enforced a Protestant morality. In response, the opposition set fire to the church in the Takitumu district and burned it to the ground. There were also a number of attempts to burn down the Avarua church (Buzacott to LMS 2 Dec 1829; Pitman to LMS 16 Dec 1829). The Avarua missionary Aaron Buzacott later wrote that the enemy party was “numerous” and added, “In addition to having their houses burnt, some had their plantations destroyed, they annoyed us in every way they could by burning the churches and school houses, defiling the seat belonging to the chiefs and missionary and the pulpit so that sometimes of a Sabbath they were unfit for use” (Buzacott n.d.). This was literally fighting fire with fire. If Christianity had established itself through the burning down of ‘are atua (god-houses), it would surely be defeated through the burning down of ‘are pure (churches); each side sought to dematerialize the social field of the other.

“This was literally fighting fire with fire. If Christianity had established itself through the burning down of ‘are atua (god-houses), it would surely be defeated through the burning down of 'are pure (churches); each side sought to dematerialize the social field of the other.”

If, following Gell, we were to view ‘are atua and 'are pure as merely indexes of agency (that of mata‘iapo and ariki respectively), then efforts aimed at their destruction would be understood as ultimately directed against that agency in an attempt to reduce or destroy its potency. But if, as I have argued, marae and churches materialized alternative social fields – including relations within and between vaka (districts), relations between ariki, relations between mata‘iapo, relations between ariki, mata‘iapo and common people, relations between men and women, adults and children – then it was not simply social agency but whole social visions that were at stake. When missionaries destroyed marae and mata‘iapo burned churches, they were attacking entire social orders, attempting to dematerialize entire social fields.

Violent conflict between ariki and the opposing mata‘iapo was only brought to an end in mid-1830 when an epidemic, probably of dysentery, decimated around a seventh of the Rarotongan population (Pitman to LMS 2 Jul 1830; Buzacott to LMS 17 Aug 1830; Maretu 1983:84-85). Missionary reports say that the outbreak was worse in the rebel settlements than among the Christians and that this was widely interpreted as a sign of God’s anger at the continued heathenism of the rebels. If these reports are to be believed (and we have no evidence that they were anything more than wishful thinking), this sign of ‘God’s anger’ did not translate into mass conversion. By 1833, there were only 88 baptized adults, and a decade later church members in Rarotonga totalled only 722 (Gill 1871:34). While more people publicly expressed allegiance to ariki and their churches, one missionary

> ***But it is likely that most, if not all, marae were, by the end of the 19th century, abandoned and overgrown with weeds (Campbell 2001:168).***

at least was of the firm opinion that most desired a return to the festivals and practices associated with marae. In 1831, Pitman wrote: "The desire of nearly all the people on the island is for their old practices being revived . . . should the Chiefs again turn their backs to the Teachers the people would for the greatest part by far return with them with joy to their heathenish practices" (Pitman, Journal, 1831:340).

SUBORDINATED SOCIAL FIELDS

During the second half of the 19th century, the social field of the church became more dominant in Rarotonga as ariki increased their power at the expense of many mata'iapo. This process culminated in the formation of an ariki-led parliament in 1891. The social field materialized in marae remained during this period, a subordinated one in which local titles and traditions were perpetuated by mata'iapo, many of whom remained opposed to the ariki. The evidence for the public use of marae during this period is sketchy. Tara'are, whose written account of the pre-Christian ceremonies is cited earlier, is said to have publicly prayed to ancestral gods at the installation of an ariki in 1881 (Campbell 2001:125). There are also accounts of images being carried by mata'iapo around the boundaries of their land in the late 19th century. But it is likely that most, if not all, marae were, by the end of the 19th century, abandoned and overgrown with weeds (Campbell 2001:168). This physical neglect, however, did not translate directly into a loss of social significance. Marae remained important as dangerous sites of spiritual power and as links between kin-groups and their land. All mata'iapo titles were still tied to particular marae, and the perpetuation of these titles included the perpetuation of knowledge concerning the location and history of marae (Campbell 2001:168).

Localized opposition to ariki assumed new forms in the 20th century as mata'iapo fought for their land and title rights in the Land Court. One of the purposes of this court, which was established by the New Zealand colonial administration in 1903, was to weaken the political influence of ariki through breaking their hold over land. The Court was therefore generally sympathetic to evidence presented to it that emphasized the past oppressiveness of the high chiefs. One such example is the statement made to the Court by a descendant of a powerful mata'iapo from Tupapa, one of the centres of resistance to Christianity in the 19th century:

Pa and Kainuku did not tell us [individually] to leave the land. Neither did Makea tell us to do so. The ui ariki [all of the ariki, collectively] had the mana and the law. It was all of the arikis told us to leave. They had an extraordinary court, and used to beat us with ropes, tie us to trees, and turn us out on the roads, plaster us with tutae [excrement] and place abomination on us. Hence we feared the ui ariki and left (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB II:85).

Disputes between mata'iapo and ariki also centred on their rights to decide upon and confer ariki titles. In the early 1920s, for example, the Makea Ariki title was conferred upon two different candidates: one the choice of the ariki's family, the other the choice of mata'iapo from the ariki's district. The investiture ceremony performed by the ariki's family took place in a church while a second ceremony, performed by opposing mata'iapo, took place on a marae: "Everybody went to Arai te Tonga [the marae]. We took [the candidate] to the crowning place there and we crowned him. We anointed him, and put a girdle on him, and gave him the title of Makea" (Cook Islands Land Court n.d., MB IX:294, 374). Some political tensions between mata'iapo and ariki remain in Rarotonga today,

but relationships between them are no longer materialized in the relationship between marae and church. Instead, they are institutionalized as a relationship between a House of Ariki and a Koutunui (literally, a high status marae complex). The House of Ariki was established immediately after the transition to self-government in 1965 to review legislation relating to Cook Islands customs. But because the ariki's views on tradition were so radically opposed to those of the mata'iapo — and those of the government — a second body, the Koutunui, consisting of mata'iapo and rangatira, was formed in 1974. A central feature of the Koutunui's opening ceremony was a large pile of rocks. Each rock had been taken from a different sub-district of Rarotonga and represented one of the traditional leaders. The association of the rocks with marae would have been obvious to those present (Sissons 1999:80-81). In Rarotonga today, marae present the appearance of archaeological sites with only the ancient boundary stones normally visible.

Marae and churches now materialize social relations within a more encompassing national field. Churches materialize relationships between Christian Rarotongans in a context of increasing denominational diversity. Marae materialize a local-level political field distinct from the nation and centred on land ownership and control. Complementarity between the now subordinated fields of marae and church within the nation is evident in contemporary ceremonies for title investiture. Such ceremonies, irrespective of whether they confer ariki or mata'iapo titles, require the participation of both a church minister and a ta'unga. They also typically involve a church service and a marae ceremony during which the new title-holder is given a flower necklace and a headdress before being wrapped with a skirt made from large, green ti leaves.

By seeking to understand churches and marae as materializations of social relations rather than as symbols or indexes of agency, I have sought to demonstrate how the construction and destruction of large 'art' objects was integral to a radical transformation of Rarotongan society in the 19th century. In this respect, Rarotongan churches closely resembled the Māori meeting houses with which I began this article. This is not the place to embark upon a comparison of the ways in which these two complex structures mediated social relations. Rather, I want to conclude by emphasizing that such an analysis would need to extend beyond the particularities of cultural meaning and historical agency to consider the parallel significance of these objects in the production and transformation of their respective societies. Building a comparative analysis, as Gell proposed, on notions of shared forms of consciousness or power mistakenly assumes material culture to be merely an expression of human subjectivity – an expression of a subjective essence that precedes material forms. Instead, we need to recognize that subjectivity and objectivity are dialectically related; subjects who construct objects, whether these are large churches, marae, or meeting houses, are also constructed by them.

More than this, in constructing their objects, subjects are also building relationships with each other, materializing the social fields within which their subjectivity and intentionality is formed.

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GLOSSARY

'aka'au atua	to make peace between or unite gods
Ara Metua	ancient path, the inland road on Rarotonga
Ara Tapu	sacred path, the coastal road on Rarotonga
'are ariki	chief's house
'are atua	god-house located within a marae
'are pure	houses of prayer, Church.
'arevananga	obligation to assist with labour, materials and food in the erection of buildings of a public nature (including the house of the ariki)
ariki	district leader
atua	god, divine ancestor
au tiki	carved god
'eva-tipa	an elaborate costume drama (see Te Ariki-tara-are 1921: 131)
ki'iki'i	wrapped ancestral poles, representations of the god Tangaroa, often referred to as 'staff-gods'
Koutunui	lit. a high status marae complex; also a body consisting of mata'iapo and rangatira formed in 1974 to complement the House of Ariki
'iti tangata	the common people
mana	supernatural power, authority
marae	cleared bounded area used for religious and ritual ceremony
maro	loin cloth
mata'iapo	subdistrict leader, chief of a major lineage. Each mata'iapo was titular head of a tapere of land and the people who resided thereon
rangatira	sub-chief appointed by mata'iapo; hereditary title held by members of ariki or mata'iapo families
ta'unga	priest or expert
tapere	a sub-district, normally headed by a mata'iapo or ariki
tapu	sacred
to'o	non-figurative sacred image, often comprising a wood core wrapped in layers of finely plaited coconut husk fibre
'ui ariki	the ariki, collectively
'ui rangatira	sub-chiefs collectively
vaerua kino	lit. evil spirit, here used for idols
vaka	lit. canoe, it refers here to the three districts of Rarotonga

Chapter Twenty

"THE TIES THAT BIND . . . ." REMATERIALIZING LAND, CHURCH, AND STATE IN MANGAIA, COOK ISLANDS

Rod Dixon

This chapter explores the continuation of pre-Christian political and religious expression in the art and architecture of Cook Islands Christian churches, with particular reference to the tradition of tātuāka'a or sennit lashing in Mangaia.

A dramatic episode in the introduction of Christianity to the Cook Islands was the burning of the marae (religious structures) and the surrender of god images. In recounting the conversion of Tinomana, chief of the vaka (district) of Puaikura, Rarotonga, Rev. John Williams wrote:

[Tinomana] desired some people to take a fire-brand and set fire to the temple, the 'atarau or altar, and the unus, *or sacred pieces of carved wood by which the* marae *was decorated. Four great idols were then brought and laid at the teachers' feet, who, having read a portion of the tenth chapter of the gospel of St. Luke. . . disrobed them of the cloth in which they were enveloped, distributed it among the people, and threw the wood to the flames. . . . In the course of a few days, all the idols in the district were brought to the teachers; some of these were destroyed but the others they determined to send to [the main mission station at] Raiatea. . . . From this time the destruction of the ensigns of idolatry proceeded rapidly throughout the island (1837:178).*

But the 'destruction' of pre-Christian gods and marae was neither as rapid nor as total as this description by Williams suggests. This chapter explores the continuation of pre-Christian political and religious expression in the art and architecture of Cook Islands Christian churches, with particular reference to the tradition of tātuaka'a or sennit lashing in Mangaia. It examines the relationship of Mangaia's Christian churches today to the marae of yesterday, in their construction, in the allocation of space, in their decorative arts and their symbolic role in mediating and materializing Mangaian society.

COOK ISLANDS MARAE

The Cook Islands marae, according to Sir Peter Buck, was "a dedicated space of ground where the people may watch the priests perform the ritual to the gods" (Buck 1932a:208). The marae was additionally a location for the dedication of children to a tribal god; for the anointment of religious and political leaders; and the site of rituals for the consecration of war and peace.

The marae was also the location of the 'are atua (god houses) in which material representations of the gods were stored. Gill referred to these as "idol temples" and noted that they were rectangular in shape, thatched with pandanus, with sliding doors, with a tīrango or "threshold of a single piece of wood tastefully carved", and with sennit squares worked in the front and back sides of the dwelling (Gill 1892:11). These marae houses were, according to Buck (1934:173) "about six feet long, well thatched with hala ['ara], with a small door screened with white cloth. They were built on each marae after peace was declared." He differed from Gill (1892) in claiming, "No images were placed in these houses but the god was supposed to take up his spiritual residence within."

Tangatapoto described the architecture of the Atiuan marae:

A marae was specially constructed with large rocks or stone slabs laid in the ground on the four sides of the marked area . . . . One side of the marae was chosen as the head, and on this side, a specially selected stone suitable for seating would be placed for the ariki or chief of the tribe. Stones of smaller size and lower height would be selected and placed in two rows on either side of the ariki's seat-stone, down towards the tail end of the marae. Each stone was to be owned by each mata'iapo (sub-chief) and rangatira (lower chief) . . . . Only the high ranking people — the ariki, mata'iapo, the rangatira and the ta'unga would be seated on a marae, the common people would just stand around on the lower ground to listen to the ariki speaking or the priest ta'unga giving instructions while a tribal meeting was in progress (Tangatapoto 1984:132).

This distribution of space on and around the marae reflected the "respective relationships" of gods, priests, and people to each other (Buck 1932a:208).

Marae also carried with them the connotation of rights in land. Buck noted that "one of the first things attended to by an immigrant group was the erection of a marae" (1934:173). "The marae," he continued, "associated the ancestor or tribe with a particular district and in a way, established their right to the land" (1934:175). Savage referred to the marae as "the chief's Letters Patent of nobility" (1962:142), and Campbell noted that, in addition to their religious function, marae had a "social function in anchoring the corporate group to the land and legitimizing their occupation" (2001:169).

Williams recorded that the Puaikura people, on hearing Tinomana consent to the destruction of his marae:

were much enraged with the chief and were very violent in the expression of their feeling, calling him a fool and a madman for burning his gods . . . . Many of [the women] inflicted deep gashes on their head with sharp shells and sharks teeth and ran about smeared with the blood which streamed from the wounds, crying in tones of the deepest melancholy, 'Alas! Alas! the gods of the madman Tinomana, the gods of the insane chief, are given to the flames' (Williams 1837:179).

FIGURE 1
Deacons entering church, followed by the New Zealand Resident Agent's wife and child, Oneroa, Mangaia, 1940s (photo Hickling Family Collection, courtesy Clarke Mautairi).

This self-wounding/gashing was associated with mourning (Buck 1934:189), in this case not just mourning the conflagration of their gods, but of the "Letters Patent" of their chief and religious markers of their tribe's rights in land. All these were soon to be re-inscribed within new religious sites — the Christian churches — but as Sissons notes, this re-inscription involved a significant political re-ordering (2007, also this volume).

OLD GODS IN NEW SPACES

The 'conversion' to Christianity was not as total as the conflagation of gods and god houses suggests. Although the great stone statue of the Mangaian god Rongo was smashed into fragments by the early converts, these fragments were subsequently incorporated into the walls of the early Christian church at Oneroa, Mangaia (Gill 1894:267). The pathways to the church and mission house were paved with the sandstone blocks that had once formed part of the marae Orongo.[1] The church today remains bounded by a stone-faced curb or revetment reminiscent of those that mark the boundaries of Mangaian marae. On Tongareva, Buck (1932b:149) recorded, "all the materials [of the marae] have been used in the churches and graves," while, in the case of the Mahora-kura marae on Tongareva, its "pillars were taken to construct a stone pulpit on the sea side of the island where open air services were held after the advent of Christianity" (Buck 1932b:164). The church at Tamarua, Mangaia retains on its rafters (as had, until 1981, the church at Oneroa) sennit lashing that in previous times decorated Mangaia's tribal gods. The Tamarua Church, and until recently the churches at Oneroa and 'Ivirua, incorporates pillars and cross beams carved in ancient designs that once decorated pre-Christian Mangaian religious and ceremonial objects.

This incorporation of pre-Christian elements within the new 'are pure (house of prayer) found no immediate objection from the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries. Williams regarded the incorporation of "indelicate heathen figures" carved into early church posts as a transitional phenomenon, and, in the case of the early Avarua Church on Rarotonga:

> *accounted for from the circumstance that, when built, a considerable part of the people were heathens; and as a portion of the work was allotted to each district, unaccompanied by specific directions as to the precise manner of its performance, the builders thought that the figures with which they decorated the* maraes *would be equally ornamental in the main pillars of a Christian sanctuary (Williams 1837:124).*

When Williams arrived in Mangaia to open the Oneroa Church in 1831, he noted in attendance, a significant number of "heathens" who had been actively involved in building and decorating the new church (Williams 1837:249).

There is also evidence of active missionary sanction of the incorporation of pre-Christian elements into the new churches. On Rarotonga in 1827, the Rev. Charles Pitman experienced "sacred joy" at the decision of the Ngatangiia people to dress the rafters of the new chapel with the sacred tapa (bark cloth) that had previously been used to wrap their staff gods. Pitman noted:

> *Monday 28 [May, 1827 Ngatangiia, Rarotonga] . . . . It was agreed that the Rafters of the Chapel should be Covered with the Cloth from two of their* Vaerua Kino, *or Idols which they formerly worshipped. These idols are immensely large and a vast quantity of Cloth around them, made from the bark of trees. How strikingly are the predictions of God's words fulfill'd respecting the Heathen. Their spears are not turned into ploughshares because they are wood, but the covering of their Deities are to be employed in adorning the house of God . . . .*

[1] *These had been laid by the Rev William Wyatt Gill and remained in place until 1884 when the Rev. William Nichol Lawrence was deputizing at Oneroa, Mangaia for Rev. G.A Harris who was on furlough in England. Lawrence removed the original stones and replaced them with gravel. On his return, Harris, unhappy with this "decided change for the worse" had his deacons cut new coral slabs to replace those that had been destroyed in the process of removal (Harris 1887).*

[2] *White shells were often used to decorate the images of Cook Islands atua.*

FIGURE 2
Carved church posts, Oneroa Church, Mangaia, displaying the double K motif characteristic of traditional Mangaian carving (photo: D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands).

FIGURE 3
The ka'a (sennit) wrapped, rafters, beams, and purlins of the Oneroa Church, Mangaia prior to replacement of the roof in 1981 (photo: author's collection).

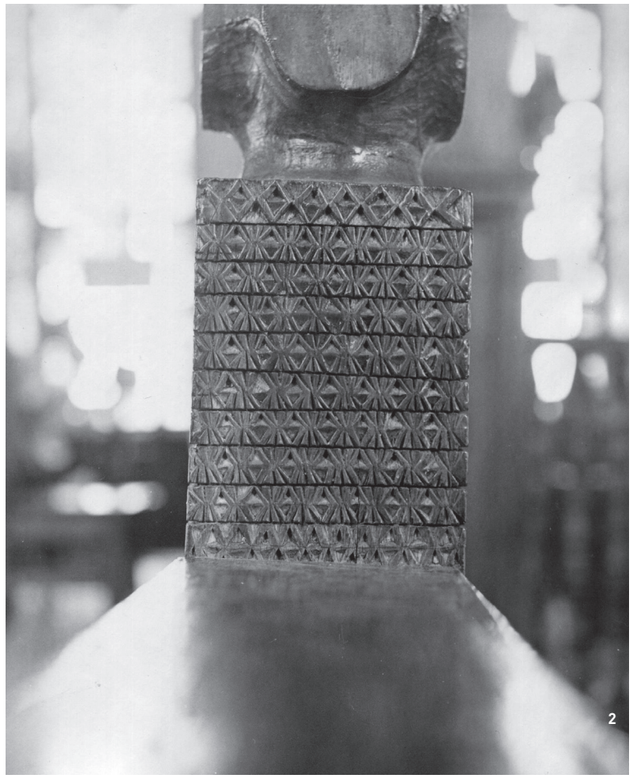
> *Friday June 1 This day the idols of the other settlement were brought that they may be stripped of their cloth to cover the rafters of the chapel. As the Young Men were carrying them on their shoulders to our house, I could not but feel a sacred joy within me that they were no more considered as Gods (Pitman Journal 1827:4).*

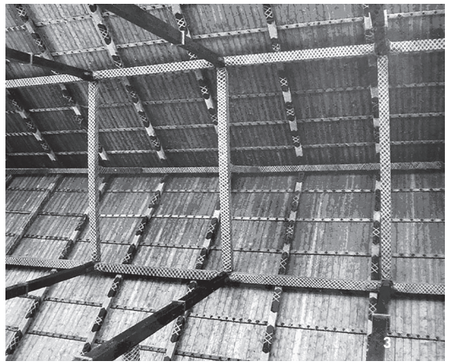
William Gill recorded that the first Avarua Church was decorated not by the tapa coverings but by the unwrapped gods themselves — "at the request of the people, some of their former 'au tiki' or carved gods were stripped of their sacred bark cloth and hung from the rafters" (Gill 1856:15).

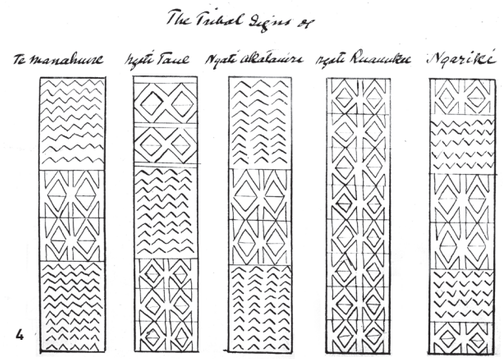
Other local elements were also incorporated into the church buildings. Williams referred to the pillars, rafters, and ridge-pole of the Oneroa Church as not only "beautifully carved" but "tastefully coloured with various native preparations" (1837:249). The church described by Williams was later damaged in strong winds, and a new or renovated church opened circa 1835, of which William Gill noted, "the numberless rafters of the roof, each neatly covered with native paint. . . supported by twelve or fourteen pillars of the finest wood, carved in the most ingenious manner" (Gill 1880:94).

In addition to "native paint," Maretu noted of the Avarua Church, that various parts including the "ridge thatch were decorated with white shells"[2] (1983:65). Crocombe, in her translation of Maretu's journal, noted the possible incorporation of decorative sennit work in the Rarotongan churches (Maretu 1983:65 fn). A visitor to the Ma'uke church in 1845 noted that "every post and rafter. . . is decorated with plaits of different coloured cinet and strips of their white tikoru [bark cloth]" (LMS n.d.:606). Maretu also recorded the application of white bark cloth to the purlins and rafters of the Oneroa Sunday School building in 1840, "tied on with sennit and fixed into place" (Maretu 1983:131).

> ***Although the great stone statue of the Mangaian god Rongo was smashed into fragments by the early converts, these fragments were subsequently incorporated into the walls of the early Christian church at Oneroa, Mangaia (Gill 1894:267).***







4

SENNIT DECORATION

Sissons has noted a correspondence between the carved pillars of the first Avarua Church, with its "indelicate heathen figures" and "the wooden images of divine ancestors in the form of long carved poles known as ki'iki'i" that had previously been a central feature of Rarotongan marae (2007:57). According to Sissons, the carving of church posts in the manner of the posts that had earlier supported the 'are atua, the wrapping of the church rafters with tapa, the hanging of the ki'iki'i themselves on the rafters and the practice of 'arevananga[3] through which the labour for church construction was procured and organized, not only assisted in the indigenization of the Christian churches but materialized a new cultural field in which ariki concentrated and centralized their power vis-à-vis mata'iapo (district leaders) (2007:57).

On Mangaia, sennit not only played a role, comparable to tapa on Rarotonga, in the wrapping of the Mangaian gods but also played a part in the subsequent indigenization of the Christian churches, their incorporation into Mangaian society, and the materialization of a new religious and political order following the introduction of Christianity.

On Mangaia, lashing had a functional, decorative, and ritual purpose. Buck wrote:

In the structural 'a'au *lashings of purlins to principal rafters, certain forms [of sennit lashing] were used but these have been lost though the use of trade nails. . . . In addition to the structural lashings, the builders worked purely ornamental designs in sennit on parts of the woodwork (Buck 1944:45).*

These ornamental designs ("patterns of crossing courses of sennit" – Buck 1944:409) were also used to secure adze heads to the haft of ceremonial adzes and to secure key components of outrigger canoes. In undertaking the lashing of ritual and ceremonial objects, Mangaian ta'unga (experts) "were stimulated by the nature of the object to improve on the secular lashings" (Buck 1934:133). According to Gill, "the peculiar way in which the natives of Mangaia fasten their axes [with sennit] was originally taught them by the gods" (1885:224). Gill also recorded an historical origin, attributing "The improved art of carving and plaiting sinnet, etc. . . long ago introduced from Tahiti by a worshipper of Tane" (1885:224). Buck identified this person as "Una, the craftsman [and grandfather of the great Mangaian carver Rori who] came from Tahiti and his knowledge of carving and of a superior form of lashing was applied to the decoration of adzes used ceremonially as the symbol of Tane" (1934:168). Not only the adzes but the sennit braid itself was regarded as a symbol of Tane-kio (Buck 1934:132, 168) and thus "itself esteemed divine" (Gill 1885:224, 1875:n.p.)[4].

[3] That is, corvée labour provided, on Rarotonga, as a public display of the authority of a chief.

[4] "Only sacred men might plait it [sennit]" Gill (1875:n.p.).

[5] Gudgeon wrote, "Each of the following tribes at Mangaia had a system of carving of their own called 'Akairo [mark] and this was generally tattooed on the shoulders so that they could at once be recognized as Ngariki, Ruanuku, Akatauira, Tane or Manahune" (1916).

[6] Giglioli notes that some of his data was derived from correspondence with W. Wyatt Gill, the successive British Residents, F.J. Moss and Colonel W.E. Gudgeon, and the Mangaian ariki John Trego, in conjunction with the Mangaian wood carvers Daniera Tangitoro and Miringatangi (1902:292-293). Buck considers these "tribal emblems" to be "neo-myths" (1944:396).

FIGURE 4
"The Tribal Signs of [left to right] (1) Te Manahune, (2) Ngati Tane, (3) Ngati Akatauira, (4) Ngati Ruanuku, (5) Ngariki" (photo: PA1-0-1239-076, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

FIGURE 5
District god of Mangaia. Note inaere (multiple lozenge pattern) lashing on haft, LMS 62, original LMS number 32 (photo: ©Trustees of British Museum).

FIGURE 6
District god of Mangaia, LMS 43, original LMS number 30 (photo: ©Trustees of British Museum).

Sennit braid not only functionally bound house, canoe, and adze but also ensured their 'inner' strength by the application of decorative patterns, inspired by the gods and executed by sacred ta'unga (craftsmen). Stolpe, writing of the sennit on Mangaia adzes, noted "Both during the operation of plaiting and during the decoration of the axeshaft, songs were sung in a low voice to the gods, that they might further the work" (1927:34). Kaeppler, writing of French Polynesia, suggested that the craftsmen, in braiding and twisting the sennit, invested it with "individual prayers" and that "it was the prayers, entangled into the sennit as it was being made or attached to a piece of wood or other object, as well as the addition of hair and feathers that transformed an object into a maitu (ancestor god)" (2007:119-120). In Mangaia, the finished sennit patterns were also regarded as actual representations of specific deities. Shibata in his *Mangaian Dictionary* defines puku ka'a or sennit knot as "divine idol" and "a god in the form of a sennit rope knot" (1999: 231). Gill noted that both Motoro and Tane-kio were "supposed to be enshrined in cinet work" (1876a:95-96). Buck elaborated that "Tane-kio and Motoro were each represented by a particular form of sennit work decided on by the priests. Tane-kio was represented by finely plaited sennit braid. . . what form of sennit work represented Motoro is not known" (1934:168).

The use of patterning to signify Mangaian tribes or their god ancestors (Tane, Te Akatauira, Manaune, etc) is reported for bark cloth (Gill 1894:39; Buck 1944:76), for tattoo, and for carving (Gudgeon 1916)[5] and illustrated in the Figure 4 which appears in Giglioli (1903: 292).[6]

Some indication of the sennit pattern that represented Tane and Motoro can be speculated on from the sennit lashings on the Mangaian 'idols' removed from the national god house Te Kai'ara in the Kei'a district of Mangaia, and surrendered to the Revs. Williams and Platt in February 1828. The idols were taken to the London Missionary Society Museum and later, in 1890, transferred to the British Museum (Gill 1894:334).

Buck (1944:37) located three images (Figs.5-7) identified in the British Museum catalogue as "district gods of Mangaia, names now lost," that he believed to have been carved by the Mangaian craftsman Rori and on which the "sennit and feather ornamentation of the shafts still remains" (1944:372). (A similar image attributed to Mangaia is in the Oldman Collection [Otago Museum] and a fifth is found in the Peabody Museum, Harvard. In both these latter cases, the ka'a was either never present or was removed, perhaps, as with the removal of the tapa from the Rarotongan gods, in the process of their 'desacrilization' (see Babadzan 2003; Buck 1993:18). A sixth image is in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (- see Appendix 3, this volume).

The British Museum catalogue notes that the handles of each of the three 'idols' (LMS 30, 31 and 32) are covered with finely plaited sennit with plumes of feathers and human hair corresponding in key respects to the descriptions provided by Gill (1894:204, 235, 242) of Motoro (tribal god of the Ngariki and next to Rongo, the most powerful), in particular, the presence of hair and red parakeet feathers, still attached to the image when handed to the Rev. John Williams.

On two of the 'idols' (LMS 30 and 31), Buck noted:

the sennit is wound in close traverse turns throughout their length. LMS Coll.32 [Figure 5 above] has close traverse turns around the upper end of the shaft and the beautiful multiple lozenge pattern termed inaere *for the rest, in the same technique used on house rafters. At different levels, feathers, human hair, and coir holders from which the feathers have fallen out were introduced. . . (1944:375).*

5

6

7

8A

8B

[7] *"Motoro, whose ugly form may be seen in the Museum of the London Missionary Society" (Gill 1885:110).*

[8] *The comparative rarity of Mangaian adzes with the shaft wrapped entirely in sennit might suggest that sennit lashing had greater religious significance than carving. Stolpe (1927:33) quoted but dismissed Holmes's view (1888:249-250) that "the [carved] devices on the axe shafts are simply an imitation of the regular binding with fine twists of the cocoa-nut fibre whereby the stone axe is fastened to the shaft." Hooper considers sennit wrapped hafts as a possible "forerunner" of the carved haft arguing that the act of binding was a ritual of consecration and the "surface carving can be understood as a kind of binding with carved patterns" (2006:229).*

FIGURE 7
District god of Mangaia, LMS 42, original LMS number 31 (photo: ©Trustees of British Museum).

FIGURE 8A
Mangaian ceremonial adze (length 62.5cm) stone, wood, sennit, ex London Missionary Society Collection (photo: courtesy of the School of Oriental and African Studies Museum, London).

FIGURE 8B
Ceremonial adze, early 19th century (photo: courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago).

In noting that Motoro was "supposed to be enshrined in sennit work," Gill wrote that Motoro was also incarnated in the 'ōrongā plant and in the black feathered mo'omo'o or Spotless Crake, *Porzana tabuensis* (1894:332). The presence of black bird's feathers on the shaft of LMS 31 may associate this figure with Motoro; whereas the presence of the "stout rope of human hair" on LMS 30 recalls "the beautiful hair to adorn the then newly carved image of Motoro," noted by Gill (1894:204).

An obstacle to firm identification of any of the three 'idols' as Motoro,[7] is Gill's description of Rori's carving as "a rude carved human figure made of ironwood" (1894:308). Buck dismissed this: " It may be that Gill was so obsessed with the idea that the geometric motifs on these objects represented human figures that he used the term "human form" somewhat loosely" (1944:379). Duff rejoined, "Although our 'maestro' Buck (1944) seemed reluctant to draw the conclusion, the carved arches for feather attachment seem obviously conventionalized human figures, placed caryatid-fashion one above the other. . . " (1969:62).

Evidence that LMS Coll. 32 may alternatively represent Tane, god of the Ngati Tane, "only third in order of dignity" (Gill 1876b:28), includes the presence of the rare inaere patterning on the haft. This pattern is also found on the lashing of several Mangaian adzes recorded by Buck (1944:170-171), on the entire haft of a Mangaian adze in the London Missionary Society collection of the School of Oriental and African Studies (Hooper 2006:229) and on another in the Field Museum, Chicago.[8]

Adzes were used ceremonially as the symbol of Tane (Buck 1934:168) and Tane-mata-ariki was "enshrined in" (Gill 1876:275) or

represented by finely lashed adzes on special carved handles that are unique to Mangaia. . . Pareina of Tamarua thought they were used ceremonially in connection with the god Tane as the Ngati Tane tribe was skilled in making fine sennit braid and the complicated lashings which form a feature of the adzes. In Tahiti, Tane was regarded as the god of woodcraft and fine sennit braid and adzes were associated with him (Buck 1934:168-169).

Buck noted that the other major recorded manifestation of inaere patterning associated with Mangaia[9] was found on the rafters of the Oneroa Church along with two other styles known as Te Puta o te 'I'ri (The hole [open pattern] of Te 'I'ri — " the design used on rafters and beams") and Te Puta o Te Ikatuna (The hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna — "used on purlins") (Buck 1944:46).

SENNIT LASHING OF THE MANGAIAN CHURCHES

The wrapping of church rafters in sennit commenced with the earliest Mangaian Christian churches. Conrad Martens (topographical artist on board *HMS Beagle* with Charles Darwin, before departing the ship at Valparaiso 1834) visited Mangaia in 1835, some seven years after the last war between converts and non-converts. He viewed the Oneroa Church at night, and described it as "a singular specimen of the skill and persevering industry of the natives. . . the beams, rafters, wall plate, in short every piece of wood that was visible, being carved most minutely, and afterwards painted with a curious mixture of black and white lines. . ." (Martens 1994:51).

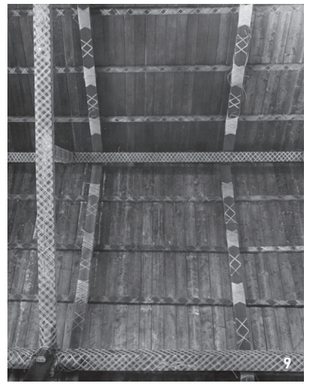
In daylight, Martens may have identified the "black and white lines" as sennit lashing on blackened posts.[10] The Rev. Charles Pitman, who opened the new Oneroa Church in June 1835 observed that "7 posts supported the ridge pole, which they have covered with carved work neatly fastened with Ka (sinnet)" (Journal 1835:269). Sennit lashing was again in evidence a few years later in the decoration of the rafters of the new Oneroa Mission House, built in 1845 (see Mainwearing below).

In 1861, the Rev. William Wyatt Gill reported that in "the Chapel at Tamarua, each pillar, beam and rafter is beautifully ornamented with cinnet. The effect is very unique and pleasing" (Gill 1861). At Oneroa, Gill noted "the many thousands of yards of fine yellow cinnet which adorn the beams and rafters. As the timbers are first blackened with a native dye, the various plaited patterns show off to great advantage. Formerly this cinnet was an object of idolatrous worship" (Gill 1876a:54). In 1870, W.W. Gill reported the "open rafters and beams" of the new 'Ivirua Sunday School House were "very prettily ornamented with white cinnet after the fashion of this island" (Correspondence, 17 May 1870). In 1873, Mainwearing described the rafters of the Oneroa Church (rebuilt 1873) and mission house (built 1845) as "both being covered with very fine sennit plaiting, laid on in most artistic and tasteful patterns" (Mainwearing in Gill 1876a:8). The Rev. George Harris noted of the Oneroa Church constructed in 1888, "Thousands of yards of beautifully plaited sinnet, made from the cocoanut fibre, cover the rafters in strange fantastic designs making the building quite unique in style and richness" (Harris 1888). The Tamarua Church, opened in 1891 had, according to Harris, "ornamental plaited sinnet covering all the woodwork of the interior" (Harris 1891).

[9] *A further manifestation of inaere lashing is found on the snoods of two wooden fish hooks in the British Museum and Oldman collections (Buck 1944:240).*

[10] *Thorogood, who visited the Oneroa Church in the 1950s, wrote, "From the ground a first glance upwards suggests that a pattern has been painted on the dark rafters, and only on closer inspection do you see the cunning workmanship [in sennit]" (1960:97).*

FIGURE 9
Sennit lashing, Oneroa Church, Mangaia prior to their removal in 1981. Buck recorded the three designs shown as Te Puta o te 'I'iri (The hole [open pattern] of Te 'I'iri) which is "the design used on rafters and beams"); Te Puta o Te Ikatuna (The hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna) which is the design "used on purlins" (Buck 1944:46). The dense sennit lashing seen on the rafters is known as inaere (photo: D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SENNIT WEAVING

Buck informs us, that on Mangaia, "temporal power was the reward of war and not hereditary descent" (1934:34). Mamae recorded 42 battles for temporal power with the last battle and abolition of warfare in 1828 (Reilly 2003). Large families and political alliances provided the key to political supremacy.

An ancient Mangaian poem envisaged the eight sons of the tribal ancestor Manaune and his wife Takina gathered or bound together as a source of fighting strength:

Ua ruru a rama te 'anau a Takina	Bound together as a [coconut leaf] torch is the family of Takina
Ko Pute ra ko Ma'aru,	They are Opute and Ma'aru,
Ko Vaipi'a ra ko Vaitumu,	Vaipi'a and Vaitumu,
Ko Tukuta'a ra ko Vaekava	Tukuta'a and Vaekava,
Ko Te'a'aki ra ko Nau,	Te'a'aki and Nau,
I te rurunga i te Manaune.	In the binding together of the [tribe of] Manaune (Buck 1934:77)

Another story told of Mangaian warriors lashed together to achieve military strength (with uneven results):

Ua itiki te nga tamariki a Tevaki i to raua maro e ua aere mai te Ngariki i te puruki ia raua. Ua aere raua na te tua katau i te purukianga. Ia oti, ua aere raua na te tua kaui i te purukianga. No te ngao oki o te Ngariki (tei karangaia i te reo enua e, e <u>koapa kaka'o</u> te Ngariki me aere i mua i te taua puruki), are atu i reira i rauka ana ia raua i te ta e ua mate atu oki raua.	Tevaki's two sons tied their *maro* (loin cloths) together as the Ngariki tribe came to fight them. They battled on the right flank and when they had finished, they battled on the left flank. Because of the large number of Ngariki, (it was said in the language of the island, that the Ngariki were like a koapa kaka'o when they went toward the battlefield) they were not victorious and were killed (*Unpublished Mangaian oral tradition*).

Buck translated koapa kaka'o, in a similar context, as meaning "like the reeds in the wall of a house" (1934:56). Traditionally, the kaka'o (reeds) in the walls of a Mangaian 'are (house) were lashed together with sennit to form a closed screen. In the story above, both Tevaki's sons and their opponents the Ngariki, are seen bound together, the Ngariki metaphorically, Tevaki's sons literally, in the struggle for military and political supremacy. A tightly 'knit,' strong, and courageous family was referred to figuratively as a taura-ka'a — "a sinnit rope or cable" (Savage 1962:366).

Political alliances were not only critical to victory in war, but also critical to ensuring the peace. In the metaphors of the island, a long-lasting peace was likened to a house tightly thatched with pandanus ("'*are rau maru*, a well thatched house that does not leak") and contrasted with the more pervious cocoanut leaf thatch ("*E pa kikau nga'enga'e koe, e ta'u ariki*. Thou art a defense of loosely thatched leaves, O my Chief [ariki]" (Buck 1934:182).

At the conclusion of war, with the sounding of the drum of peace and election of a new ruler (te ua Mangaia) Gill recorded:

Miniature houses were erected on all [the] maraes*; each house being a fathom long and well thatched, with a little open door neatly screened with a strip of the best white cloth. These tiny houses were designated 'conservators of peace' (*'are ei 'au*) [literally, 'house for peace'] (Gill 1876b:294-295).*

FIGURE 10
Sennit lashing using Te Puta o Te Ikatuna (The Hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna in the Tamarua Church (photo: D.S.Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

"Tātuāka'a or lashing, in both its practical and ritual manifestations, was the means of strengthening and preserving an adze, a house, or a canoe and, ritually and metaphorically, the state."

On the declaration of peace, the island and the resources of its six fertile valleys were distributed among the leading warriors of the victorious military alliance, while the defeated were exiled to the mountains and the makatea (the raised coral perimeter of the island). The resulting Mangaian 'state' according to Gill, "was conceived of as a long dwelling standing east and west; the chiefs of the southern (right) side of the island, represented one side of it; the chiefs of the northern (left) side of the island represented the other side" (Gill 1892:323-353).

The kaui (left) and katau (right) were further divided into te pauru (the head), te pori (the body) and te 'uku (the tail) of te ika o Rongo (the fish of Rongo, a metaphorical representation of the island) giving six divisions of the state represented in the diagram below.

Kaui - left = North

Tava'enga district Te 'uku i kaui (tail on the left)	Karanga district Te pori i kaui (body on the left)	'Ivirua district Te pauru i kaui (head on the left)
Kei'a district Te 'uku i katau (tail on the right)	Veitātei district Te pori i katau (body on the right)	Tamarua district Te pauru i katau (head on the right)

11 **Katau - right = South**

Within this conception of the state as 'are:

The under-chiefs everywhere symbolized the lesser rafters; individuals the separate leaves of thatch covering. Yet, by a subtle process of thought the state itself — with its great and lesser chiefs, and its numerous members — was but the visible expression of a spirit-dwelling in the underworld, in which the major and minor divinities did not merely live, but actually constituted it; the major gods being the pillars and main rafters, the minor gods the lesser rafters, &c, &c. The safety of the state consisted in this — that in the spirit-temple in the nether world there should be no schism or rent; for should there be one, divisions will immediately arise in the visible state, i.e., in the councils of the great chiefs; the necessary consequences being war and bloodshed (Gill 1892:17).

A well-thatched house (and by extension, a stable peace) required structural and ritual lashing with the 'sacred' ka'a. Tātuāka'a or lashing, in both its practical and ritual manifestations, was the means of strengthening and preserving an adze, a house, or a canoe and, ritually and metaphorically, the state. In its ritual manifestations, the sacred ka'a tied people to chiefs and chiefs to gods in the same way as, in its secular manifestation, it tied rafters to pillars and thatch to rafters (Buck 1944:37-38).

In dressing the rafters of the new Christian churches with ka'a lashings, Mangaian leaders reiterated earlier consecrating rituals that bound tribes to chiefs and chiefs to gods, that "there be no schism or rent" in the house of state. With the advent of Christianity, people, chiefs, and tribal gods were now additionally bound to a new more powerful God whose enduring peace (te 'au o te 'Ēvangeria), promised to entrench the ruling tribes in their supremacy. According to tradition, within the one great 'are ei 'au:

all the gods and their worshippers [tribes and tribal alliances] should lay aside their animosities and unite in keeping the peace. In the language of those days, the entire assembly of gods form but "one house"; the great point being that no divinity should feel himself neglected and so take umbrage, and thus a hole *be made though which wind and rain (war and bloodshed) might enter. If all the gods be propitious and united, they form a well thatched house which no evil can invade (Gill 1876b:294-295).*

A letter from the Oneroa Church dated 1846, from the chief of the Ngariki and the ruling ariki of Mangaia, Numangatini, noted the new unity of people, chiefs, God, and state under Christianity, some 23 years after the first arrival of the missionaries — "now we have a beautiful and a strong house. . . . We do not forget

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the great love of our God in reconciling this world to himself, because, formerly we were strangers & enemies; but now we have been reconciled & have become one family; one household in the Lord" (Reilly 2007:46).

THE DIVISION OF CHURCH SPACE

The materialization of a new political and religious order was inscribed not only in the dressed rafters of the church but also in the allocation of space within Mangaian church buildings, the new 'houses of peace.' Separate paths led to separate doors at the 'head' of the church reserved for the ariki, kavana (district chief), and orometua (or pastor, replacing the pi'a atua or priest) leading, in turn, to separate boxed pews for the ariki or kavana, and orometua at the altar end (compare Tangatapoto's description of the marae above).

Meanwhile, other parts of the church, in some cases marked by church pillars (as they had been on the marae, by standing stones), were designated for the rangatira (lower chiefs) who entered the church with members of their tapere (sub-district) through doors at the opposite end of the building. The 10 pillars in the Tamarua Church are said to denote the 10 rangatira of the district, sanctifying in the new religion, the division of the land into tapere under the leadership of the rangatira. This association of tapere leaders with church pillars also recalls the former practice of "setting up in each principal marae a forked stick,[11] well notched, and called 'supports' indicating that the leading men who worshipped there should provide support to the reign of the peace now inaugurated" (Gill 1876b:294). These tapere were in turn grouped in designated areas of the church reflecting the ritual division of te ika o Rongo, a human sacrifice used, in pre-Christian times, to mark the end of inter-tribal warfare and the new distribution of lands, water, and power.[12]

Clerk noted that the "ritual division of the fish [of Rongo] was used as a reaffirmation of landholding rights. The hierarchy of control over areas of land was reproduced in the distribution of the fish's body. Island and fish constitute a symbolic unity" (Clerk 1985:239). So too with the 'are pure or church. As previously noted, the ancient Mangaian marae "was not only necessary to the worship of a god, but it associated the ancestor or tribe with a particular district and, in a way, established their right to the land" (Buck 1934:174). In pre-Christian times, such statements of land rights took place initially on the national marae Orongo, then on geographically separate marae. In the mission period, they found expression under the one encompassing roof of a unitary deity. The gathering of all six Mangaian puna (districts) in the missionaries' "Village of God" at Oneroa,

[11] An example of these 'toko' or supports can be found in the Musée du Quai Branly collection, http://www.quaibranly.fr/fr/collections/explorer-les-collections/oceanie/pays/MQXAAFAADAAA_Cook%252C-%25C3%25AEles/objet/72.53.274.html

[12] Gill, describing the rituals of human sacrifice associated with the transition from warfare to a new regime on Mangaia noted that, at Orongo marae, "The 'praying king' with a bamboo knife, now cut off the ears of the victim; the right ear representing the right or southern part of the island; the left ear representing the left, or northern half. Each ear was then subdivided into as many small portions as might serve to represent the various minor districts [tapere] of each half . . . . In prescribed order, the names of all the district chiefs and landowners were proclaimed, each receiving from the hand of the king [ariki or priest] a portion of the ears of the victim wrapped up in a ti leaf. The great temporal chief invariably received the first portion in the inferior capacity of a district chief. These bits of human ears were deposited in different family maraes. They constituted an investiture to all offices and right to the possession of the soil. Without a human sacrifice there could be no formal possession of dignity or estate" (Gill 1876b:297).

FIGURE 11
Puna divisions of Mangaia as divisions of the Fish of Rongo.

FIGURE 12
Interior, Oneroa Church, Mangaia with gallery in the background, c.1955 (photo: D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

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resulted in a 6-part spatial division of the Oneroa Church that recalled both the division of te ika o Rongo and the Mangaian state illustrated in Figure 11. Where once the ritual division of land had been consecrated by human sacrifice, this was now affirmed in rituals of the Eucharist (Buck 1993:28; Aratangi 1988:76-77). To elaborate Clarke's observation — island, fish, church, and state now constituted a symbolic unity.[13]

With the return of the people of Tamarua (1840), 'Ivirua (1841), and Karanga (1850s) to their home puna, three churches replaced one and each assumed their current tripartite spatial divisions.[14] The Tamarua Church retains most clearly the symbolic division of the fish — Te Pauru (head, 'facing the sun'), 'Akaea (breath), and Kiriapi (kiri [skin] of the api [sturgeonfish]).

If the consecrated ka'a lashings in the rafters, and the allocation of space in the Mangaian churches symbolized the new distribution of land, water, and political rights among the victorious tribes (sanctified by both tribal gods and Christian god, co-present under one roof), they also announced the exclusion, from this process, of those defeated in the last war on the island, the Ngati Vara.

Despite the subsequent intermarriage of victors and vanquished, and the loss of much of the contemporary relevance of ngati (tribal) affiliations, descendants of the Ngati Vara, defeated at the last war in 1828, have continued to advance claims to formal recognition in the division of lands and, therefore symbolically, in the division of church space. Excluded from the division of the puna wetlands, some descendants of the Ngati Vara have concentrated their land claims on the dryland makatea, the traditional refuge of those defeated in war. Both Mamae (grandson of the Ngati Vara chief Koroa and Rev W.W. Gill's co-adjutor) and Aiteina (Mamae's son, Buck's informant, and a pastor) maintained a claim to the "curious" title (Buck 1934:125; Goldman 1970:88) of Te Ariki o te Makatea (Chief of the Makatea). Buck noted,

The office descended in the Ngati-Vara, who by the last battles fought on Mangaia became associated with the makatea without hope of regaining chieftainship over the puna lands. The position was subsequently held by Mamae and passed to his son Aiteina, who retains a share of Ngati-Vara land in the district of Veitātei. In connection with this district, Aiteina has a special share of food at feasts and the official call is "Te 'ui rangatira no Ka'u-mata!" (the assembly of chiefs from Ka'u-mata). He has no tapere in the district but the land over which he rules is the makatea and the mountain, the land of the conquered" (Buck 1934:125).

Historically, Mangaia is divided into six puna (Nga ono o Mangaia). Every puna (except Tamarua) is in turn divided into six tapere (e.g., Nga ono o Veitātei).[15] Marshall noted, "The Makatea. . . is (for some historical purposes, and only by some individuals) considered a seventh territory" (nd:25). Buck allowed for the possibility that this 'seventh territory' encompassed the entire makatea (and thus a seventh district) or simply the makatea of the Veitātei district (Buck 1934:125).[16] Today, one of Aiteina's descendants is recognized by the current kavana of Veitātei as the rangatira of the Veitātei makatea, the 'itu or 'seventh' rangatira. As Secretary of the Oneroa 'Ēvangeria [Church body], this descendant of the Ngati Vara additionally advances claims to a division of the church (to the right of the altar) as the share of the 'itu.

CONCLUSION

Historically, Mangaian society emphasized the significance of alliances in securing and maintaining political and economic power. Rituals of ka'a (sennit) lashing, particularly the decorative lashing of Mangaian god-staffs and the rafters of large buildings, consecrated ties of people to chiefs, and chiefs to gods — ties that, in turn, ritually ensured "no schism or rent" in the state and thus, a lasting peace.

In the early 19th century, the political alliance of Ngati Tane, Manaune, and Ngariki that seized government prior to the arrival of Christianity confirmed its dominance by strategic alliance with the early missionaries. This alliance was consecrated in the ritual lashing of the new Christian 'are pure and in the decoration of the church building and the division of space within it. The sennit lashing of the church rafters ritually affirmed ties of relatedness between people and chiefs and chiefs and the ancient gods of the winning tribes. These lashings, additionally, tied people, chiefs, and ancient gods to the new, 'more powerful' god of Christianity. The division of the church reflected the division of the land and waters achieved at the last war, now 'made timeless' by the sacrifice of Jesus and the peace of Christianity. At the same time, the representations of the gods, signified in the patterning of the lashings, and the allocation of space within the 'are pure, ignored and excluded the vanquished of the last war. Their descendants, over time, have kept alive claims to a division of land and a division of the church, in part through the assumption of significant positions within the church pastorate and hierarchy of the 'Ēvangeria.

Sissons (2007:57) wrote that incorporation of the ki'iki'i and tapa wrappings within the Rarotongan churches reflected not just the indigenization of the church but the materialization of a new, more centralized, political order on Rarotonga, centred on the alliance between the Christian missionaries and the ariki vis-à-vis the mata'iapo.

On Mangaia, the sennit lashing of church rafters, the wall and pillar decoration, and the spatial division of the church all attested to the new division of lands among, and the political supremacy of, three tribes — Ngati Tane, Manaune, and Ngariki — with their gods (Tane, Te-aio, and Motoro respectively) represented by different sennit designs.

If the destruction of the marae included not just a conflagration of the representations of the old gods, but the "letters patent" of the chiefs, as well as religious markers of tribal rights in land, all these were quickly re-inscribed within new religious sites — the Christian churches — which now played a key role in mediating and materializing the new religious and political order, just as Buck (1932a:208) noted the ancient marae had materialized and mediated the respective relationships of gods, priests and people to each other.

[13] Siikala made a similar observation regarding the CICC church yard at Ma'uke: "At the basis of it there is clearly a structure of a traditional *marae* . . . . The society in its totality is expressed in its structure" (1991:127).

[14] The Oneroa Church is now divided among the three 'western' districts — Tava'enga, Kei'ā, and Veitātei — but on ceremonial occasions, such as the anointing of an ariki, when the whole island is represented in the church, the church pews are again sectioned into six according to the old division of the fish of Rongo (see e.g., D.S. Marshall Field Notes, 1953-1954:126).

[15] Shibata noted that "six was the most significant and sacred number in the Mangaian cosmology and political system" (1999:178-179). Marshall wrote, "Six is a number of special significance on Mangaia" (nd:25).

[16] From the mid-19th century to the late 1940s, the makatea became central to the mission and colonial economy of Mangaia as the major source of citrus, coffee, and other export goods.

FIGURE 13
Oneroa Church Interior. According to Dr. John Numa (quoted Marshall 1954-1955:406), "The decoration behind the pulpit . . . represents three spearheads, the three friendly tribes that supported the Church here" (photo: D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

FIGURE 14
Remnants of the ka'a lashed rafters of the Oneroa Church, incorporated into the pa'ata (platform) carrying Nooroa Ariki at her investiture, Oneroa Church, Mangaia, 1991 (photo: author's collection).

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Dedicated to Evelyn Dixon (1927-2016)

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FIGURE 15
Section of the Oneroa Church roof, c.1955 showing sennit lashing (photo: D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

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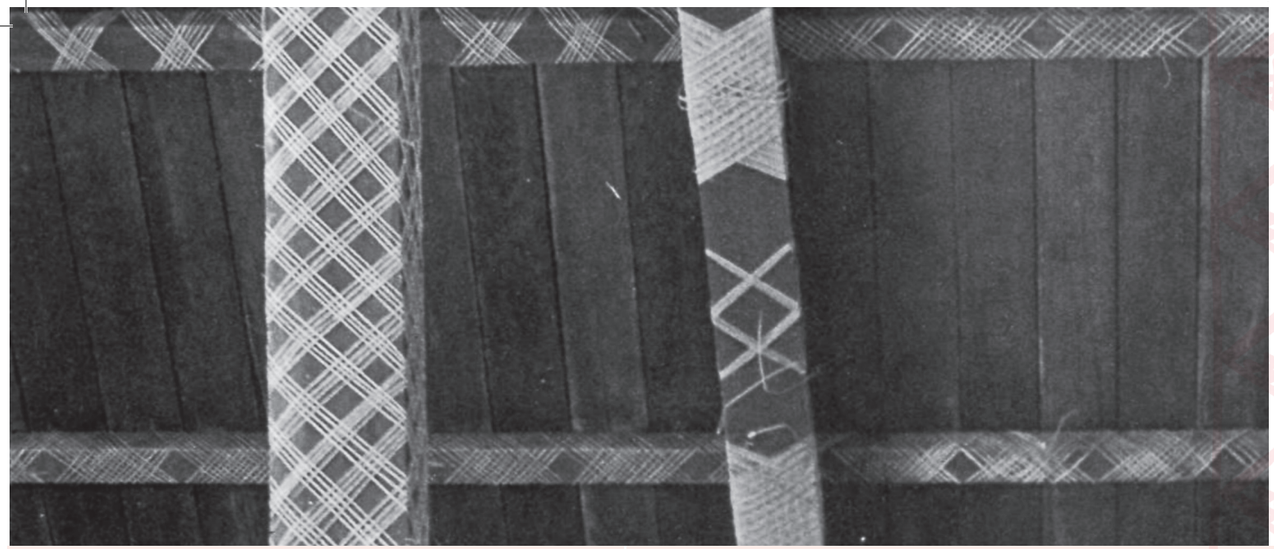

FIGURES 16A & 16B
Coloured glass door and window, Tamarua Church, Mangaia (photo: the author).

GLOSSARY

'a'au	the lashing of the wooden parts of a building structure to each other
'akaea	breath
'akairo	mark or motif
api	Dusky Surgeonfish (*Acanthurus nigrofuscus*) in its later growth stage
ara	general name for varieties of Pandanus
'are	house
'are atua	god house in which material representations of the gods were stored
'are ei 'au	house erected on marae on the declaration of peace; figuratively, conservators of peace
'are pure	house of prayer, worship – the Christian church
'are rau maru	well-thatched, sheltering house made of pandanus leaf, figuratively, long-lasting peace
'arevananga	corvée (unpaid) labour provided as a public display of a chief's authority in 19th century Rarotongan society
ariki	chief
'atarau	altar
'au o te 'Ēvangeria	enduring peace of Christianity
au tiki	collection of carvings, carved gods
Ekalesia	Church, in the Christian sense of an organized body of believers.
'Ēvangeria	the Christian gospel
ika o Rongo	'fish of Rongo' refers both to the island of Mangaia itself and the human sacrifice made to the god Rongo to consecrate peace after a period of warfare
inaere	sennit design characterized by continuous overlaid lozenge patterns
'itu	seven
ka'a	sennit or coir made from the fibre of the coconut
kaka'o	Wild mountain reed (*Miscanthus floridulus*) used for screens, making hats and darts
katau	right side
kaui	left side
kavana	leader of a puna or district – a corruption of the English 'governor'; traditionally known as pava or paoa
ki'iki'i	carved images of divine ancestors in Rarotonga
kiri	skin
koapa kaka'o	house-wall made of the kaka'o reeds, applied figuratively to ranks of warriors
maitu	ancestor god (French Polynesia)
makatea	uplifted coral reef
marae	dedicated space of ground, delineated by a revetment of stones, where priests performed rituals to the gods; a location for the dedication of children to a tribal god; for the anointment of religious and political leaders; the site of rituals for the consecration of war and peace and the location of the 'are atua (god houses) in which material representations of the gods were stored
mata'iapo	sub-chief, sub-district leader but not on Mangaia where the kavana is the nearest equivalent
mo'omo'o	Spotless Crake (*Porzana tabuensis*)
ngati	tribe, clan, descendants
orometua	pastor
ōrongā	Pipturus (*Pipturus argenteus*)
pa'ata	deck or ceremonial platform
pauru	head; Te Pauru - The name of one of the three sub-divisions of Tamarua village, and a sub-division of the district of Tamarua
pi'a atua	priest, medium, divine vessel (lit. 'god box' or container)
pori	belly, body
puna	district (lit. an inland valley system and the taro swamps it supports)
rangatira	head of a tapere or subdistrict of the puna
tapa	bark cloth
tapere	sub-district of a puna, led by a rangatira
tātuaka'a	lashed sennit work in general
ta'unga	person with specialist knowledge, of carving, medicine, etc
taura-ka'a	rope of sennit; figuratively, a tightly knit, strong, courageous family
Te Puta o te 'I'iri	The Hole [open pattern] of Te 'I'ri; a sennit design used on rafters and beams
Te Puta o te Ikatuna	The Hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna; a sennit design used on purlins
tikoru	white bark cloth
tirango	threshold to a house, made of a single piece of wood
ua mangaia	leader of the victorious ngati, who assumes leadership of the entire polity after a struggle for power/warfare
'ui rangatira	grouping or assembly of tapere chiefs
'uku	tail
unu	sacred carving decorating a marae
vaerua kino	lit. evil spirit, used by missionaries and converts to refer to traditional carvings or 'idols'
vaka	a district (Rarotonga)
LMS	London Missionary Society

Chapter Twenty-one

TRANSITIONAL SPACES
A CULTURAL CONVERSATION ABOUT PLACE

Krick Barraud

INTRODUCTION THE JOURNEY

When I arrived on Rarotonga in 2002, I was stranger in a strange land. Coming and going from the island as I did for six years, I often felt like flotsam or jetsam, tossed upon the tide of life. So I explored the littoral zone, the place of encounter and transition. I walked the beaches, roads, and villages, and my art was driven by a dialogue with materials, spaces, and places. Using the theory of bricolage, I investigated transitional space through conversations with the culture and environment and specifically the historic 'are ngaika (coral limestone houses), the architecture introduced by the London Missionary Society (LMS) after 1823. This chapter investigates verbal and visual types of conversations, senses of place and transitional space, situations, and the colour white. It discusses bricolage, what was revealed, the inspiration, and my interpretation. It provides detailed visual documentation of my project to demonstrate ongoing dialogue with materials, as well as responses from the local community and visitors to Rarotonga.

CONCEPTS AND CONTEXT
THE DIALOGUE OF CONVERSATION

Conversations are discussions between two or more people, communications that have mutually interesting connections, exchanges of views, or spontaneous reactions and interactions. Conversations can have different tones and subjects, and conversations can be used as a strategy of interventions and installations at specific sites. Voices range through dark, angry, loud, intrusive tones of the political and provocative work to quiet, strong, reflective tones. I explore conversation through materials and objects, which act like words and sentences — materializing anthropologist Levi-Strauss's statement, "It is the sentences made with objects which have a meaning and not the single object itself" (quoted in Kelly 2008:29).

Conversation — chatter, courtesy, banter, and even gossip — are critically important in making social meaning (Fiske 1987). Conversation can be

"communication as transaction and based on the nature and extent of consequences of each transaction" (Dewey quoted in Evans 2001:1). Artist Cornelia Parker engages in "vigorous conversation" (Were 2010:69) with her work, which is inanimate, through her collection and choice of titles to create meaning, e.g., her work *Breathless* featured flattened and inert brass musical instruments — their life squeezed out of them. These aspects of conversation are relevant to my project: local people help inform it, in turn underpinning my method, which draws attention to sites, objects, and cultural elements that relate to transitional spaces, which reflect cultural change.

Prior to the introduction of a written language brought by teachers and missionaries to the Cook Islands from 1821, orality, gesture, and sign were the only means of communication. Tattooing conveyed identity, rank, achievements, and tribal and family ancestry. A knotted coconut leaf around a tree signified an area under rā'ui (customary prohibition on the use of resources, Crocombe & Crocombe 2003:13). 'Ākono'anga (protocol, conduct, and dialogue) comprises conversation and communication through the 'are kōrero, a place where tribal historians narrated oral traditions and discussed important matters, and the 'are vānanga, where esoteric knowledge was given to selected people chosen to learn a particular skill or ritual (Crocombe & Crocombe 2003:47). Kākāia, a Māori word for conversation, is also the name of the native white tern. Used as the emblem of the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC), the white bird alludes to "the sky, heaven, purity, peace and love: the cross, Christian faith and belief" whilst spreading the word of God (Crocombe & Crocombe 2003:55).

Oral history and conversation are important in the Cook Islands communal system. The community works as a collective. A silent cultural conversation requires awareness of who is involved and how they address each other and converse. This social politeness knits people together. An example of this non-verbal communication is the popularity of wearing uniforms, e.g., clothes of the same cloth and pattern, for many occasions (see Alexeyeff, this volume). This custom reinforces identity and cements Cook Islanders' solidarity, which reinforces their collective way of thinking. The community works in groups — be they for singing, dancing, tivaivai (quilting), drinking, socializing, gardening, or

Conjuncture, Krick Barraud. 2011. Digital Print on Paper, 700 x 1040mm (photo: Mahiriki Tangaroa).

vaka (district) meetings — to reinforce consensus and convention. I experienced their fellowship while building with coral rock with the Matavera Boys Brigade (Figs. 24-30) and collecting ‘au (hibiscus) wood (Figs. A8-A17).

Graffiti is a form of conversation globally, especially among youth. Graffiti on Rarotonga depicts signatures of identity and records slogans referring to current issues, such as sex and racial discontent. The movie *Alter Ego* by Daniel Thouw (2009) shows the art of “some very passionate individuals standing behind those written identities, walking the borderline between creation and destruction, art and vandalism.” Tkid stated that youth embrace graffiti “because it’s so honest so raw and simple, putting your name out there or saying something you want to say” (in Thouw 2009). My project encompassed non-verbal communication and graffiti.

A SENSE OF PLACE AND THE TRANSITIONAL SPACE

Taka‘i koe ki te papa ‘enua,
‘Akamou i te pito ‘enua.
A‘u i to‘ou rangi.
(Puati Mata‘iapo 1990)

As people socially construct meaning in particular places, each place develops its own narrative, its own reality (Lippard 1997:7, 11-14). Campbell concurs, “Landscapes are essentially cultural constructs arising out of the mutual interaction of environment and society, each continually forming and reforming the other. Landscape is a signifier of social mores, identity and history, but at the same time is constrained by the environment” (2002:147). The land with its spatial and spiritual elements is a critical part of the local Cook Islands culture: in the words of Puati Mata‘iapo, “You step on to solid land, affix the umbilical chord and carve out your world” (translated from the quote above, in Crocombe & Crocombe 2003:127).

Historically, Polynesians have also been great travellers who assimilated elsewhere, received strangers, and integrated new ideas and cultural practices into their own. With the arrival of the Tahitian teachers and English missionaries, Rarotongans quickly adapted the Christian ideology into their culture, and ariki (chiefs) formed alliances with missionaries. This altered the structure of society and introduced a new narrative of peace, which changed Rarotonga’s space and cultural landscape: “the way in which a logic of a culture is revised when people go so far as to act in terms of it” (Geertz 1982:583-584).

Transition in space and culture happened as a result of the conjuncture of Māori and European culture. Architecture was “an active component of political and ideological histories” (S. Treadwell, this volume). The Rev. John Williams and other LMS members “explicitly approached conversion through architecture and its fabrication” (ibid). LMS architecture “tells a story of political, social and cultural transition” — “through both the displacement of the indigenous architecture and its transformation” (Budgett, this volume). From 1823 onward, Cook Islanders progressively replaced their vernacular huts with robust 3-room ‘are ngaika, and the introduction of the bedstead elevated the indigenous sleeping mat toward the gods. Missionaries destroyed the heathen gods, idols, and marae (sacred grounds), but the missionaries located their churches and houses on the Ara Tapu (sacred road), symbolically binding the settlements of people together, as the marae had done, pre-contact. The churches (restored) and the ‘are ngaika (mostly uninhabited and in ruins) remain in the landscape corroborating missionary impact. The ‘are ngaika speak of a lost sense of place in history, merging memories of missionaries and their construction methods with memories of everyday life within the walls of these now open, unprotected desolate spaces.

‘Are ngaika are in ruins because of culture. Cook Islanders have innate emotional ties to their land and the surrounding sea, evidenced by their not selling the land. The land is the dominant cultural economy, providing a source of food and shelter, with landholdings determining personal position within the extended family. As a result of large families over successive generations, land tenure is complex and inhibits any one family branch rehabilitating ‘are ngaika. Upon renovation, ownership or occupation would likely be contested (Figs.A1-A4).

Lippard says that “space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place” (1997:9). She interweaves issues concerning land, culture, and place with “the possibility of an art boasting stronger contextual ties and audience access” (p.263). My project was influenced by her definition of public art: “accessible art of any species that cares about, challenges, involves and consults the audience for or with whom it is made, respecting community and environment” (p.264). Kaireva ‘are ngaika at Avana in the Ngatangiia Vaka (Fig.1) provides strong links to the ancestral family and their local community through this transitional period. Using the Kaireva ‘are ngaika, I attempted to create public awareness and community interaction, using conversation and bricolage to highlight the possibility of new meanings and new awareness of the ‘are ngaika and to identify elements of architecture and the shared commonalities between two cultures that reinforce the notion of transitional space and cultural change.

“The ‘are ngaika speak of a lost sense of place in history, merging memories of missionaries and their construction methods with memories of everyday life within the walls of these now open, unprotected desolate spaces.”

WHITE
A SENSE OF PURITY AND PEACE

For Rarotongans, the colour white is part of their narrative and representative of purity, sanctity, and peace. White appears in different forms, contexts, and transitions in both European and Māori cultures. Pre-contact, people used white cloth to cover the gods as a veil of sanctity, to curtain priestly dwellings, and as lordly clothing for great chiefs; post-contact, it predominated in gifting between missionaries and Cook Islanders (Buck 1944:143; see also S. Treadwell, this volume). Papa Ataera painted a white face for the cover of *‘Ākono‘anga Māori: Cook Islands Culture* as “The face . . . is the Cook Islander of the 1800s and 1900s whose Māori mind was largely replaced by Christian religious thought . . . . All that was White was regarded as superior” (in Crocombe & Crocombe 2003:7). This concurs with Jean Tekura‘i‘imoana Mason’s theory that “whiteness is next to godliness” (Mason 23 Apr 2010, pers. comm.).

“White clothing became a manifestation of the new religion, helping to define the new order — in both time and space — through the daily and weekly rituals of church attendance in the newly formed mission villages” (Budgett 2007:3). These customs of religious representation endure: when attending churches, local people still wear white clothing. The ‘uniform’ reinforces the sense of fellowship that was introduced as an enduring part of Christian ideology.

The missionaries also introduced the concept of clothing the indigenous reed hut and large coral stone churches, with white limestone plaster. White cottages “associated ecclesiastically with ideas of purity, cleanliness, and goodness,

focused on the Christian analogy of the use of white and black to symbolise good and evil" (S. Treadwell 2007:4), and "the luminous whiteness of lime plaster resonated with local sensitivities" while at the same time the use of white "freed the local people from their traditional constraints" (Budgett 2007:3-4).

The Minute Books of the Cook Islands Courts (Campbell 2002:151) refer to a ritual performed by the Potikitaua (priestly title) at the installation of Tinomana Mereana (a female ariki) in 1881 when a newly built 'are ngaika was wrapped in white cloth. Campbell (ibid.) suggests that although the ritual was similar to the pre-contact tapu ceremonies of wrapping the gods to sanctify them, the 'are ngaika was wrapped to de-sanctify the space and make it fit for human habitation. At Kaireva, I used white fabric to dress the 'are ngaika, as the missionaries had once clothed (lime plastered) the coral houses. My project evolved to include more than fabric and more than the 'are ngaika.

COBBLING TOGETHER
THE ART OF THE BRICOLEUR

Bricolage is a French word for a work assembled by tinkering with materials at hand. Bricolage is "a dialogue with materials and the means of execution" (Levi-Strauss 1962:29). He suggests "it might be said that the engineer questions the universe, while the 'bricoleur' addresses himself to a collection of oddments left over from human endeavours" (p.19). The strategy of bricolage describes the process, selection, and dialogue with materials, which dictate the nature and direction of my enquiry. The dialogue with materials, ready made, found, new, old, manufactured and natural, stimulate conversations to formulate new meanings.

RESEARCH AND STRATEGIES

My process-based project is a journey that combines the elements of discovery, chance, and instinct. Emulating Long's (1998) chance as a strategy, my chance finds dictated the nature of the systematic enquiry into the stages and processes that develop as a result of new arrangements of elements to make site-specific interventions in places and spaces. To manage and enable reflection and analysis, I documented my materials and process with text and digital images. The chance finds and sites determined the type and tone of the conversations about places and situations. My projects use collaborative conversation as a base, for example, collecting 'au with the Matavera Boys Brigade (Figs.A8-A17) and the construction of *A Place of Encounter* (Figs.24-32). The conversation was mutually beneficial, we learnt from each other through talking and making — a process that reinforced historical aspects of their culture. The boys shared their knowledge of materials, skills, and manpower. Their work was rewarded with donations for their planned activities. Viewing the working bees as culturally stimulating, the elders and leaders of the Matavera Christian Church gave their support and approval. I supplied written documentation and images of our work at quarterly meetings with church leaders.

THE CORAL LIMESTONE HOUSE AT KAIREVA
REVELATION

The 'are ngaika at Kaireva in Avana Passage (Fig.2) became my chance find when family members removed its exterior cladding and revealed its coral core bound with mud and lime. I anchored my project at the Kaireva 'are ngaika because it represented European and Māori family and cultural ideologies in the material world. Employing a system of visualization and thinking through making allowed the connotations of the house/home in relation to place/space to further the direction of my enquiry: to investigate transitional spaces engaging in and responding to cultural conversations about the 'are ngaika.

INSPIRATION

My project is inspired by the work of Rosalie Gascoigne, who had an allusive imagination and intuitive nature. Gascoigne "considered the rites of collection, delivery and installation an integral part of her work. Driving, looking and collecting were as integral to her process as sorting and assembling" (O'Brien 2004:49). Gascoigne's success was a result of her hungry eye, her approach to see and collect ready-made and natural found objects, her hunter-gatherer instinct and the way she used and legitimized the found object in her assemblage work (Thomas as cited in O'Brien 2004:55). For bric-a-brac — "discards of little value" that a bricoleur turns into art (Anderson quoted in O'Brien 2004:55) — I used "oddments left over from human endeavours" (Levi-Strauss 1962:19). I am drawn — through colour, form, patina, texture, and quality that speak of former life, use, meaning, and their own transition through time — to certain objects and materials — man-made and natural, contemporary and historic, local and imported — that evoke a sense of memory.

INTERPRETATION

Certeau described individuals' common activities, such as to shop, to walk, or to cook, as to tinker (bricoler) "with and within the dominant cultural economy to obtain innumerable and infinitesimal metamorphoses of its law into their interests and their own rules" (cited in Dezeuze 2008:33). Dezeuze suggested, "The best bricolage today combines a rethinking of the ontological status of art with wider sociopolitical questions of value and agency" (p.33). By tinkering with the 'are ngaika at Kaireva, I altered its original meaning. For example, my images of graffiti (Figs.20-23) showed socio-political statements of the youth culture, reformed and incorporated into a local conversation. This transition enabled the work to be re-presented in a new context as artwork on the newly white exterior wall of the formally derelict and abandoned house. Thus, the 'are ngaika was transformed to resemble a gallery space.

PROJECTS AND VISUAL DOCUMENTATION

This section's text and images chart a path through different types of conversation, allowing the materials to speak in context. The components of my practical and theoretical discoveries are formed like conversations bouncing among people, objects, words, and ideas. The informed narratives contextualize my response to situations and sites. Each project speaks or responds with a different voice and tone dependent on the site, process, and materials used. Process-driven cultural conversations about place are transitional, thus reinforcing the notion that everything is in a state of change. Some conversations prompt visual response with the work, addressing not only the land and environment but contemporary and cultural exchanges and issues. I engaged with local people to explore and provoke conversations about sites and materials, between me the artist and the community, but conversations also happened beyond my personal participation, among viewers' subjective responses.

PROJECT
A BINDING CONVERSATION BETWEEN LOST AND FOUND, KAIREVA, AVANA PASSAGE, NGATANGIIA

Observation of the local landscape and environment at Paringaru Passage led me to the abandoned 'are ngaika at Kaireva. The coral limestone shell appeared derelict, its timber walls and verandahs demolished, and its interior walls covered in graffiti. It spoke of another form of pollution, but its solid walls drew me as they emanated a sense of history and memory. The walls stood pared in places to their original form, creating a transitional space suspended in time.

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According to title and land deeds in the Land Court on Rarotonga, Penui Moera built the Kaireva 'are ngaika about 1880. Teauriki Daniel became the house owner, and his adopted son Teauriki Daniel, around 80 years of age, is the last surviving member of the family to have lived in the 'are ngaika. The house was bequeathed to Edward Karika Jr when the land was partitioned in 2008 by his maternal grandmother Pari Teauriki Daniel, who held the chiefly title Koropuaka Rangatira. The family permitted me to use the site.

I continued to explore notions of repair and protection, engaging the concepts of first aid — mending, healing, and stitching — wanting to encourage conversations about the 'are ngaika within the local community. Using 82 metres of white cotton mull fabric, sourced locally but imported from China, I wrapped the house. The white fabric, with its cross-cultural significance of sanctity and purity, made the 'are ngaika appear as a consecrated artefact, the bandages symbolically binding the wounded house as a means to protect the building and the lost art of construction. The wrapping process seemed similar to Egyptian mummification to protect and preserve bodies.

The 'are ngaika metaphorically represents home and family as place and belonging. I sought to incorporate and link the physical proximity of the church sited across the Ara Tapu with the wrapped and bound house. The 'are ngaika and church are significant results of missionary intervention (Fig.5). The red, black, and white ties that bind the work suggest the connection to the church and family bloodlines. Raffia, readily available and used often on the island, highlights the impact of the large quantity of imports to the island, and replaces the organic products used in former times (Fig.6).

Responding to Christo and Jeanne Claude's wrapped structures, I accentuated the form, not the function. The draped fabric on the 'are ngaika softened its form while the bindings accentuated its proportions, making it appear more box like. The local community generated a conversation that conceived the wrapped house as a gift, a wrapped box. There were differing perceptions and many verbal enquiries as to what it might contain. The work gained recognition as a result of its location: on a busy corner close to Avana Passage, an important historical site in the Pacific and frequent tourist destination. Wrapping the Kaireva 'are ngaika was a successful intervention and experiment as it involved an existing form and bricolage, found in the landscape, re-worked to create a new

FIGURES 1-2
Kaireva (digital images: K. Barraud, November 2009).

FIGURES 3-4
Sutures and stitches (Fig.3); fabric wound tightly around the 'are ngaika (Fig.4) (digital images : K.Barraud, December 2009).

meaning. The transitional state of the house created conversation within the local and tourist community, engaged and stimulated curiosity and intrigue, and drew the viewer's attention to the site during the four weeks that it remained wrapped.

PROJECT
THE BABBLE OF CELEBRATION, KAIREVA, AVANA PASSAGE, NGATANGIIA

As a result of public awareness of the Kaireva 'are ngaika, the family cleared the environment surrounding the house. Seeing this as a direct response to my work, I wanted to reply by engaging in a celebration: a loud, upbeat, bright, joyous conversation of acknowledgement. An idea presented itself while I watched a community notice on local television about recycling rubbish, including aluminium cans. The brightly coloured compressed squares, collected from the recycle depot, appeared as objects of everyday life, of bricolage and of transition. The red and green colours spoke of festivity, referencing community gatherings, the advent of Christmas, and thus the role of the church (Fig.7).

I laid out the 'ei (garland) design, using hosepipe and the aluminium squares to estimate size and develop construction methods. I drilled the aluminium squares at three points to tie them together and attach them to a steel rim, which Conrad Hunter (Rarotonga Welding and Steel Construction Limited) and I had welded (Figs.8-9). To rectify unstable aluminium slabs, we welded 20 millimetre (mm) steel rods to the frame at 30 mm intervals, which gave the circle strength synonymous with my perception of the family structure. Installing the work on site at Kaireva involved a collaborative effort with Honeybee and Clinton from Rarotonga Welding and Steel Construction Limited (Figs.10-13). At the time of installation, the 'are ngaika was still wrapped and the graffiti obscured.

I removed the protective bandages from the house on 24 December 2009, revealing the *Circle of Celebration*. The installation involved two forms of bricolage. The house shell and found materials conversationally alluded to their transitional states. The aluminium squares were 'drained' of their former meaning as rubbish and pollution and reformed as beautiful flowers, suggesting

FIGURES 5-6
The wrapped and bound house showing the physical location to the church (L). Ties binding the house exterior (R) (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2009).

FIGURES 7-9
Compressed aluminium cans found in the recycle depot, slab 306 x 306mm (Fig.7). Welded steel circle with recycled compressed aluminium cans (Figs.8 and 9) (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2009).

FIGURES 10-13
Installing the 'ei (garland) on site at Kaireva with help from members of Rarotonga Welding and Steel Construction Limited (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2009).

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FIGURE 14
"The author poses before the installed 'ei (image: M. Cooper, *Cook Islands News*, December 2009).

FIGURE 15
Revelation (digital image: K. Barraud, March 2010).

FIGURES 16-17
White cube with 'ei installed (Fig. 16). Kaireva dressed for the Karika family wedding (Fig.17) (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2010).

FIGURES 18-19
Edward and Jezabel Karika (Fig.18). Wedding bell with roses hanging from central interior beam (Fig.19) (digital images: K. Barraud, April 2010).

a message of celebration. There is a bittersweet duality in that the cans of soft drink contribute to the large percentage of ill-health and diabetes affecting local people. Over time, the intensity of colour in the aluminium squares faded out to silver and blue, reflecting transition and alluding to the deteriorating health of their original consumers. The work fulfilled my objectives and generated enthusiastic conversation within the community with a sense of goodwill for Christmas (Fig.14; see also Reeves 2010a:17).

At the beginning of 2010, during my absence from the island and with the work still in situ, the family landowners embarked on a beautification project. Their actions, participation, and sense of pride in their land confirmed that my conversations with the house had been heard. A transition took place, with a new coat of whitewash. The graffiti were obliterated, banished to the past. The 'are ngaika appeared alive, re-born, and reinvented as a "white cube," an interior/exterior gallery space with four white walls (O'Doherty 1976). There is a new sense of place in the landscape (Fig.15).

The 'are ngaika now posited a new conversation (Fig.16). The colour white remained the link that united the two cultures. Placing work inside the house and heightening awareness of the site re-energized and resurrected the 'are ngaika, which in turn gave my installation new meaning, accentuating it as an artwork hanging in a gallery space. The house and land were resurrected/restored as a place of importance. They gained added value as tourists visited the historic site and the family used the venue for weddings. Edward Karika and his Samoan fiancée asked me to help dress the site for their wedding. I removed the 'ei from the 'are ngaika, and on 10 April 2010, I discussed with the landowner ideas to dress the house and land. The site underwent another transition, being transformed, rejuvenated, and inhabited with people, life, and a sense of occasion (Figs.17-18).

Post-wedding, I left the wedding bell in the centre of the 'are ngaika to respect the family and wedding memories (Fig.19). I reflected on the changes that had

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occurred within the walls and the conversation that previously had adorned the interior walls. I moved my research to the land, exploring with, and learning from, local people about the complexity of tenure. Although Cook Islands law prevents any land being sold, land can be leased for up to 60 years. Areas of land can be partitioned and bequeathed to family members. However, resentment and disharmony had seemed evident in the graffiti words, which previously adorned the house's interior walls (Figs.20-23).

PROJECT
A CONTEMPORARY CONVERSATION, KAIREVA, AVANA PASSAGE, NGATANGIIA

The original graffiti, visual forms of communication, were obscured from public view when the house was wrapped in protective cloth and deleted when the walls were whitewashed. Having wrapped the 'are ngaika to obscure the denigrating graffiti, I aimed to unpack the meaning of the graffiti, that silent conversation. Some of the graffiti appeared as a response and record of the effects of colonial endeavours. This conversation is like public speaking, with an anonymous voice. The words form a visual monologue spoken by individual orators establishing their mark of identity. The images are expressive, angry, possessive, and demeaning, and the words form a raw, honest speech conversing with the present and documenting the past. Having previously documented all the graffiti digitally, I arranged the images to form a conversation and combined the images with words from a current conversation overheard in the community. "Your big feet take up too much space on my island" was spoken in light-hearted banter between friends and rolled around the island on a wave of gossip. The texture on the walls showed the transition of time. The graffiti appeared as a written conversation.

Wanting the graffiti to appear as tagged to the freshly painted exterior wall, I printed the images and words onto clear film. For maximum visibility, I placed the work on the roadside at the northern end of the building. A solar panel light illuminated the work at night. This work, *Contemporary Conversation,* speaks with the voice of local community members. To form a conversation, this experiment combined the voice of youth and print possibilities as processes and ideas related to tagging.

Although the site allowed the public to see and read the work, I the artist reflected and found the work unsuccessful because the clear film was insubstantial and I had used too many words and images, which diminished the power of the graffiti — which reflected the original artist's tags and personal conversation.

FIGURES 20-23
Examples of graffiti found on the interior walls at Kaireva (digital images: K. Barraud, November 2010).

FIGURES 24-25
Initial construction with the help of Matavera Boys Brigade members (digital images: K. Barraud, May 2010).

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PROJECT
A PROLOGUE — WAHAROA — THE GATEWAY, PLACE OF ENCOUNTER, NGATANGIIA BEACH

After nine years on Rarotonga and as a result of my research, I was gaining greater understanding of local culture, land, and identity. I looked for a means to converse with local people and with the construction methods used to build 'are ngaika. I moved the project away from the Kaireva site in order to identify a place of arrival and departure. Flows of people to and from the island have profoundly affected cultural transition since the early 1800s. Like many people before me, my journey began upon arrival on Rarotonga; thus, I wanted to establish a gateway, to synthesize the transitional place of arrival and departure referencing human memory and emotion. I chose a beach site on the boundary of the land we leased in Ngatangiia. I staked out an area to site my work facing north/south, emulating the current and historic direction and flow of people.

Using bricolage, I chose coral rock found on site from the beach and lagoon. I researched Andy Goldsworthy's interest in the nature of things, the colour, form, and composition of natural materials and their place within nature (Lailach 2007:48). The site and materials merge the land with the sea, the old with the new, the past with the present. The coral rock transcends the ocean and the land, and its meaning alters through its use as a building material.

Elders of the Matavera Church permitted members of the Matavera Boys Brigade to participate with my project. The boys came to work with me from 5 to 6 pm every Monday and Tuesday for 8 weeks. The project entitled *Place of Encounter* is where the collaborative conversation began among the found materials, the local people, and me. Our initial attempts to build a dry stone rock column were unsuccessful, and the wall collapsed. With the input of the local pastor, much discussion, and resourcing local knowledge, we dug a foundation trench and placed the largest coral rocks as a base from which to build. This system gave the columns more stability (Figs.24-25).

Construction began as collaboration between me and my ideas and the boys and their strength, humour, and creativity. Emulating the construction methods

used to build the historic churches and houses encouraged interest in their history and culture. Making a human chain, we moved each rock from the beach to the building site (although historically women had constituted the chains) (Figs.26-27).

Building the columns revealed that the coral rocks engage in a dialogue, each conversing with its own voice and sound, each rock original in colour and texture. The rocks spoke with a resonating clink as we sorted and fitted them together "like a puzzle" (W. Ngamata 26 May 2010, pers. comm.). I watched the rocks interlock like family and the cultural collective, presenting a sense of strength and unity (Figs.28-29).

On completion of the installation *Place of Encounter,* members of the Matavera Boys Brigade displayed a sense of pride and celebrated their work by organizing a social gathering. In general discussion, they agreed that this was the place that they all wanted to get married (Reeves 2010a:9).

On 19 August 2010, Mary Young took her pupils from Apii Te Uki Ou School to visit the beach and rock sculpture. The children interacted with my work,

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FIGURES 26-27
Collecting coral rock from the lagoon, and the construction process (digital images: K. Barraud, May 2010).

FIGURES 28-29
Heart shaped coral placed by a Boys Brigade member (Fig.28). The coral rocks fitted together and fixed with mud (Fig.29) (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2009).

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building their own sand and rock sculptures on the beach. They also wrote letters and poems to me in response to, and in conversation with, my work. *Cook Islands News* published nine of their thirteen messages (Various 2010:10).

Cook Islands Television featured an interview and images of *Place of Encounter,* the site attracted beach walkers and photographers, and children conversed with the work as a climbing frame (Fig.31); thus, the collaborative nature of the installation was successful. I learned from the community members' skills, work ethic, and methods, and I made friendships. All outcomes, however, were not positive: vandals destroyed the installation (Reeves 2010c:10). They used materials taken from the project to construct their own statement nearby. Was it a protest or children at play?

PROJECT
EMBEDDED TEXT IN A TRANSITIONAL SPACE, KAIREVA, AVANA PASSAGE, NGATANGIIA

Completing construction on *Place of Encounter* gave me greater understanding of the methods used to build the Kaireva 'are ngaika. Wanting to continue a collaborative conversation with members of the Matavera Boys Brigade, I centred my exploration of transitional space and cultural conversation back at the Kaireva house. I researched the conjuncture (Sahlins in Geertz 1982) of Māori and European cultures. The house and installation engage in a discourse, a narrative, incorporating elements of Christian and Cook Islands material culture and objects from everyday life. I saw the 'are ngaika as an icon symbolizing family, procreation, and conjuncture.

Families who had historically lived inland moved closer to the coast as missionaries placed their churches and houses on the Ara Tapu. The taura 'ōire

FIGURE 30
Matavera Boys Brigade members (digital image: K. Barraud, June & July 2010).

FIGURE 31
Child playing on the rock portal (photo: N. Dearlove, October 2010).

FIGURE 32
Place of Encounter (photo: H. Allison, November 2010).

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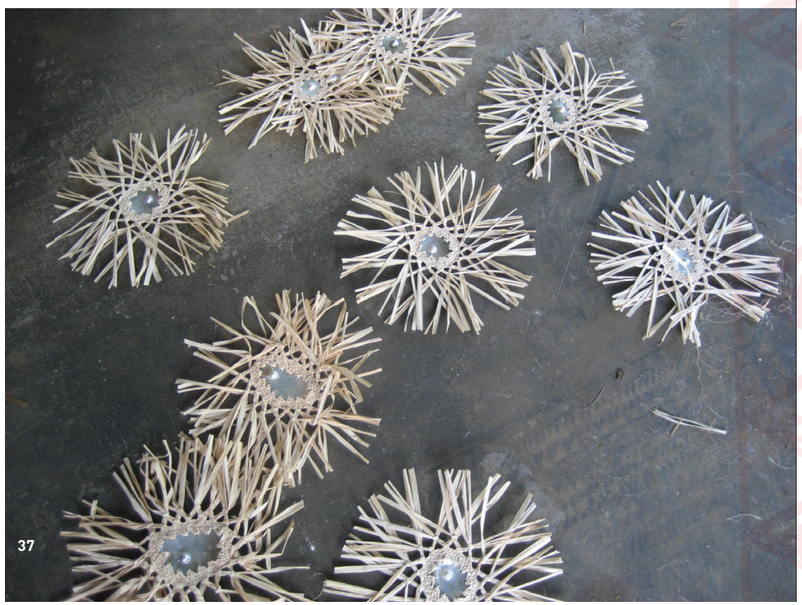
(village) system of dwelling, established with Makea Ariki and the church, enabled parishioners to live in 'are ngaika built close to the church, paying Makea Ariki one shilling a year in rent. The introduction of the gospel and its protecting core values brought peace to the community, uniting the villages, and the beginning of cultural exchange between locals and foreigners.

I identified symbolic elements relevant to both cultures and researched materials that would effectively reflect their values. I advertised in the local newspaper for old iron bedsteads, referencing the transition from pandanus matting on dirt floors to kapok mattresses on iron bedsteads, which contained evocative memories of my childhood. I used kiri'au (fibrous bark of lemon hibiscus; see Figs.A8-A17) to represent pandanus, the material originally used to make sleeping mats but now hard to find on Rarotonga. The missionaries had introduced the bedstead, which the converted perceived as elevating status, synonymous to their custom of elevating the marae toward the gods. My research of abandoned 'are ngaika indicated that, frequently, the one remaining possession left in the house was the bedstead, often a 4-poster relic of the past. An excerpt from Homer's Odyssey suggests the bed:

The bed is also symbolic of a kind of hieros gamos, a holy or sacred marriage. The marriage bed, the center of the household where procreation takes place, is rooted in the earth. There is a strong connection between the marriage act and the very fertility of the earth. It is a type of axis mundi, the central beam of the world. By cutting this link the bond between household and land would be broken (8th century BC).

I asked Pokoino Pokoino and Teauriki Joseph to assist, and they brought their weaving and binding skills to the project. We discussed appropriate methods and uses of local materials in the project to refer to the past and the present (Figs.33-37).

I collected white plastic milk bottles from the recycle depot and cut them into white feathers to acknowledge the local custom of hanging soul traps in the trees to honour the soul and spirit of the departed. The feathers reference Rarotongans' pre-contact spiritual beliefs and incorporate elements of the white kākāia bird, the CICC emblem. The work reflects a resonating conversation between the materials with reference to Christian ideology and Māori mythology.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Exploring a means to reference both the Christian God and indigenous beliefs led me to deconstructing the bed by hanging each component in order to find a conjuncture with the materials to allow them to 'speak.'

Through trial and error, the installation's components evolved. In some instances, we did not employ authentic materials formerly used because of their high cost today, e.g., we replaced sinnet with jute. Initially, I placed the assembled bed in the interior of the house, where it might once have stood. I placed the bed so that it floated in the interior space (Fig.38). I experimented with white mull fabric to reference the pre-contact custom of wrapping the gods and houses, but this approach appeared too literal. I draped the mull as a canopy, wrapping the bed, giving it a sense of purity in acknowledgment of the Karika family wedding and Christian sanctity of marriage. I experimented with the fabric, allowing the bed to be diffused in the central space of the house and to reflect the image of the Christian cross (Fig.39).

Exploring a means to reference both the Christian God and indigenous beliefs led me to deconstructing the bed by hanging each component in order to find a conjuncture with the materials to allow them to 'speak.' I wanted to raise the bed off the ground, symbolic of the pre-contact belief that the introduced bedstead was closer to the gods. The woven mattress containing mabe pearl shell (*Pinctada margaritifera*) referenced the indigenous sleeping mat synonymous with all 15 islands of the Cook Islands. To weave the mattress, I used kiri'au collected and cured with the Matavera Boys Brigade (Figs.A8-A17).

I placed the raised map/mat in the centre of the house to acknowledge the indigenous sleeping mat and the bed's pivotal role in the home and family in local culture. I reflected on how to hang the work, interweaving the materials to

FIGURES 33-37
Using rito (coconut leaves) and mabe pearl shell with kiri'au to form the bed mat: (top to bottom) Teauriki Joseph weaving with rito, kiri'au tied to warp thread for weaving, Teauriki Joseph weaving the mabe shells with rito, mabe shells woven with rito (digital images: K. Barraud, May-June 2010).

FIGURES 38-39
The bed sited in the house to reflect the indigenous sleeping mat (L). The Christian cross reflected in the mull canopy (R) (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2010).

symbolically reflect the conjuncture of two cultures (Fig.40). The shadows of the feathers and springs reference the church with the reflection of the cross. They appear to float freely in space and time creating a sense of transience (Fig.41).

To further involve the local community with this project, I discussed my project with the Rev. Nooana of Ngatangiia CICC, asked him to bless the house in accordance with cultural tradition, and requested that the Avana choir sing. On his suggestion, I met with the church deacons the following week to explain my project. The 12 deacons decided that members from all of Ngatangiia Village's choirs would attend the function and sing. Their decision and attendance gave my re-working of the house integrity and potency. The installation was opened to the public at 7 pm on Saturday, 7 August 2010, the choirs sang three hymns, and the Rev. Nooana quoted from Psalm 23 that "he restoreth my soul" in reference to the house. He spoke in response to my project, confirming the restoration and attributing a new life for the Kaireva 'are ngaika. I designed and made six white missionary style mu'umu'u (mission-style dresses) for the local girls who performed traditional dances to celebrate the occasion (Reeves 2010b:8).

Unexpectedly, the installation provided a voice of its own when, on a windy day, the materials moved, knocking together and resonating their own conversation and interaction. Shadows reinforced the ongoing dialogue between the materials and site. Further response arose when Pua Arthur photographed children in the house with the woven mat revealing the 15 islands of the Cook Islands. This image won the Telecom Telephone Book Cover Competition for 2011 (Fig.42).

When I returned to Rarotonga in October 2010, I recorded conversations with many local people, asking them questions about their family history, ethnicity, and views regarding the demise of many 'are ngaika. I recorded conversations with Teauriki Daniel, who was responsible for the alterations and renovation of the Kaireva house. I met regularly with Ian Karika who shared his comprehensive knowledge of local history and kindly facilitated access to the older homes where I met and talked with many of the residents. John Wichman, President of the Cook Islands Rugby Union, asked me, "When are you putting more work in the house at Kaireva? I look every time I drive past in the hope that there will be something new" (7 Nov 2010, pers. comm.). In early December at Punanga Nui Market, Ani Exham-Dunn shared her experience and story:

I went by myself, there was no one there, it was very still and quiet, a cloudy day like today, overcast . . . .

And what happened to me was, I walked into this building that had no roof, the first thing I saw was the bed suspended from the ceiling and for me what that did, instantly reminded me of my grandmother and her bed and how she lovingly cared for it each day.

I assumed because she came from a missionary background and she was part English, she, I think was one of the first locals who had a bed like this and on it she had a kapok mattress and it had a patched quilt of tivaivai that she had made as a young girl and she said from that bed she had twelve children and she polished it every day. It really was for her the centrepiece of her whole house, so her kitchen really actually meant nothing, the bed was really like a shrine for her and her husband.

The two children, were allowed to come in but not allowed to sit on the bed.

She would sit on the bed and tell us stories, her grandchildren.

I continued to explore the bed as the centre of the home and its symbolic reference to family, sexuality, procreation, rest, and sleep. I returned to the symbolic references, which the Māori and European cultures shared, to make a conversation piece that merged the cultures, much as the two bloodlines, Māori and European, are merged in Rarotongan society today. I experimented with the feather form with its connotations of Christianity, peace, unity, whiteness, and

FIGURE 40
Conjuncture, 3000 x 2500 cm, mixed media, iron, kiri'au, mabe pearl shell, plastic, nylon (digital image: K. Barraud, July 2010).

FIGURE 41
Found materials. The shadows are intended to create a sense of time and space reflected on the interior walls (digital image: K. Barraud, August 2011).

FIGURE 42
Children at the Kaireva 'are ngaika. Prize-winning photograph for the Cook Islands Telecom Telephone Book, 2011 (photo: Pua Arthur, January 2011).

sanctity. Once the hub of the Daniel family, the land at Kaireva had supported a bakery and coffee house on the site (Teauriki Daniel 21 Nov 2010, pers. comm.). Today all that remains is oral knowledge and coconut palms planted by Teauriki Daniel when he diverted the creek in 1962 to save the walls of the historic site at Avana. Having made a feather from milk-bottle plastic, I turned to fronds cut from palm trees to use as material to further explore a conversation of transition. I reused white mull fabric previously employed to wrap the house as bandages of protection, cutting lengths to wrap the individual fronds as barbules of a feather using polyvinyl acetate (PVA) glue to bind the fabric and frond (Figs.43-46).

The fronds responded in much the same way the individual barbules of a feather set and separate. I screwed an eyelet pin into the quill and hung the feather from a steel beam in the interior of the house, using a solar panel to light the installation. On reflection, the suspension method was heavy-handed and did not portray the desired lightness.

The feather merged with the white internal walls. Responding to the work, *Cook Islands News* reported that "the whiteness concurring with the indigenous religious beliefs and spirituality combined with the Christian ideas of purity and sanctity" (Reeves 2010c:10). The article extended an invitation to the public to visit the Kaireva site, encouraging visitors to write their visual or written response to the house and installation on the whitewashed walls as a means to document their subjective view to form a conversation about place and space. Visitors to the site participated in the project by writing and drawing on the walls with chalk. Their responses were varied, some light-hearted and spiritual but others graffiti tags. Many of the words and designs were transient, being washed away with the heavy rains during the wet season.

I intended the feather to be a response to, and acknowledgement of, the children from Apii Te Uki Ou School who wrote letters and poems in reply to my work *Place of Encounter*. I thought their engaging letters were inspired, and I responded by titling my work, *Feather in Your Cap.* In response to, and acknowledgement of, the generosity of the Karika family, I made a book as a gift containing a visual conversation about their house.

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The porous nature of the chalk on the lime-washed walls meant that the images and words forming a cultural conversation were ephemeral and the walls remained in a transitional state. The 'are ngaika remained still and silent, the plants continued to grow, the walls deteriorated and time would dictate the nature of transition as the house reverted again to its original state of abandonment. I removed the feather from the house in March 2011. Emulating local practice of regularly coating the walls of the coral houses to rejuvenate and protect them, I applied two coats of white plaster to my feather, using lime I had retrieved from a lime pit on Aitutaki in 2008 when I was investigating how coral lime was created (Figs.A5-A7; see also Taoi Nooroa, this volume).

PROJECT
HOMAGE TO A HOUSE: SPEAKING VOLUMES, BEACHCOMBER CONTEMPORARY ART GALLERY, AVARUA

As my research progressed, I realized that the conversations that underpinned my methodology would by nature be ongoing. Thus, I did not make a final work as a response to the Kaireva house but created an installation bringing together my previous conversations with the site. I selected the Beachcomber Contemporary Art Gallery in Avarua because this gallery related to and was equivalent in size to the Kaireva house. The new, white gallery is sited in a historic coral limestone building that formally housed the CICC Sunday School.

I experimented with images and ideas to form a visual conversation about the transitional phases of the 'are ngaika with the aim to place the house as the voice in a cultural conversation about space. I used photographic images from my visual research. I printed images on Hahnemulle Photo Rag 310-gsm paper using Archival K 2 pigment inkset to portray the organic nature of the building's textures. I punched eyelets into the paper to allow the images to hang by, not on, the walls to suggest their floating in a transient space. I hung the conversational images in a formation along the widest wall of the gallery to allow the different voices space to 'speak' (Fig.47). I laid up images in differing formations to speak like sentences in a conversation, and I placed work at varying levels and heights on the gallery wall to reflect conversational pitch and tone. I enlarged some

FIGURES 43-46
Transition from a palm frond to a feather (digital images: K. Barraud, December 2010).

FIGURE 47
Wall showing placement of conversational images (digital image: K. Barraud, March 2011).

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images to allude to speaking with a strong voice; I reduced others; and I placed images in succession to portray the idea of a bantering conversation spoken at a rapid pace.

I explored the notion of making 3-dimensional mixed media work to continue my strategy of bricolage. I made boxes from recycled cardboard, covering them with images of words and phrases recorded from the Kaireva house. To experiment with the concept of gossip as a form of conversation that reverberates around the island, I suspended the graffiti/gossip boxes — words hanging in space. On reflection, I found that the 3-dimensional gossip boxes were unsuccessful because they disrupted the flow of visual conversation. I cut them from the frame on which they were suspended, and I knotted them together, which bound the words and images into a more in cohesive statement. I then hung the work as a stand-alone piece to reflect the unsubstantiated nature of gossip. What had appeared to be a loud babble of words and conversations now hung silently in situ (Figs.48-49).

I restored the feather, which had remained in the house for three months, by re-coating it with white lime plaster. Into a corner of the gallery, I placed the feather to reference the plumage of the kākāia bird, a cultural and religious icon

FIGURES 48-49
The Word. 12 gossip boxes of assorted sizes. Mixed media, cardboard, digital images, nylon (digital images: K. Barraud, February 2011).

FIGURE 50
The 'are ngaika, with just its walls, is once again in use, no longer abandoned (digital image: K. Barraud, June 2010).

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in everyday life on Rarotonga. The shadows referenced the foliage of a coconut palm and the transition of the feather. I used white chalk to draw a plan of the 'are ngaika, metaphorically placing the house into the gallery space. As expected, the lime chalk deteriorated with the guest's interaction with the installation and the floor and metaphorical walls. I observed how guests participated by generally standing within the suggested walls of the house.

On reflection, I saw that the organization made it possible to read the work from left to right along the wall, showing the different transitions in the house and tones and pitches. The types of conversation were not as apparent as I had intended and so not immediately obvious to casual viewers. Conversations with the viewing public indicated appreciation of the ongoing engagement and dialogue with the house. The project has "people talking about lime houses and how important it is to preserve them. The landowners are taking care of the house now . . . . they use it, as is, with just the walls" (resident Cook Islander Joan Gragg to Dale Fitchett 24 Mar 2011, e-mail). Audience responses demonstrate how the work acts as a catalyst for continuing involvement and conversations about the coral limestone houses of the Cook Islands.

> ***My project has been a journey exploring transitional space and places using conversation as a methodology and informed by the theory and practice of bricolage.***

CONCLUSION

My project has been a journey exploring transitional space and places using conversation as a methodology and informed by the theory and practice of bricolage. It explores harmonies and contradictions between two cultures, reflected through Rarotonga's constantly changing places and spaces. Like an *unending conversation* with unlimited possibilities, it is not possible to execute what might be considered a final or conclusive work in the Kaireva 'are ngaika. My individual projects, their intentions, and the installation *Homage to a House – Speaking Volumes* should be considered as a whole, as a body of work, like a conversation to'ing and fro'ing between people, objects, and places. My project would conclude only if the Kaireva house were demolished, as other 'are ngaika were.

APPENDIX
ABANDONED ‘ARE NGAIKA (CORAL LIMESTONE HOUSES), RAROTONGA, 2009 MAKING LIME, AITUTAKI, 2008 AND MAKING KIRI‘AU, RAROTONGA, 2009

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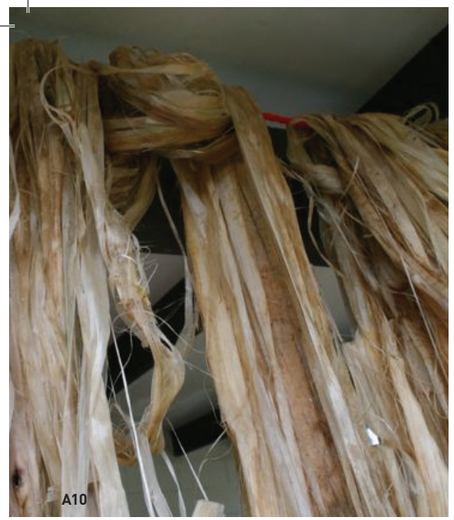
FIGURES A1-A4
Matavera house, detail and full (A1 and A2), demolished 1 July 2009; Kauvai homestead, Ngatangiia (A3); Taura ‘ōire, Tupapa (A4) (digital images: K. Barraud, March, March, March, July 2009, respectively

FIGURES A5-A7
Layers of coconut wood and coral burn on a pyre for two weeks (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).

FIGURES A8-A9
Collecting and stripping bark from ‘au branches with Matavera Boys Brigade members (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).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FIGURES A10-A11
Kiri'au, the name of the bark stripped from the 'au tree, which is traditionally used to make dance costumes (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).

FIGURES A12-A14
The bark is sacked and transported to the lagoon. There, the sacks are weighted using concrete blocks (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).

FIGURE 15
Sacks containing kiri'au are left in the lagoon for approximately three weeks (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).

FIGURES A16-A17
After three weeks, the sacks are opened and the kiri'au washed in the lagoon before being hung to dry (digital images: K. Barraud, July 2009).

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Krick Barraud currently lives and works on Rarotonga in the Cook Islands after working for 25 years in the New Zealand film industry. She completed a Masters in Art & Design from Auckland University of Technology in 2010.

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Various. 16 Oct 2010. Rock sculpture inspires students. *Cook Islands News.*

GLOSSARY

'ākono'anga	custom, protocol, conduct, etiquette, dialogue
Ara Tapu	main road linking churches – hence 'tapu'
'are kōrero	place where tribal historians narrated oral traditions and discussed important matters
'are ngaika	coral limestone house
'are vānanga	place where selected people learned esoteric knowledge, particular skills or rituals
'au	hibiscus
ariki	chief
bricolage	work assembled by tinkering with materials at hand (French)
bricoler	to tinker (French)
bricoleur	worker who assembles by tinkering with materials at hand (French)
'ei	garland, worn around the neck or on the head
kākāia	conversation; native white tern
kiri'au	fibrous bark of lemon hibiscus
marae	sacred grounds
meitaki ma'ata	thank you very much
mu'umu'u	mission-style dress
rā'ui	customary prohibition on the use of resources
rito	straw made from coconut shoots
tapu	sacred, taboo
taura 'ōire	the system established by the London Missionary Society for allocating and succeeding to house sites in villages surrounding the church
tivaivai	hand-stitched quilt
vaka	district

Appendix One

AN INFORMAL CATALOGUE OF MANGAIAN MASKS

Jacqui Durrant with Rod Dixon

In mid-2009, I undertook a survey of masks in museums; the following catalogue is a result of that survey. I personally made enquiries or viewed collections (not always with results) at the following museums:

In Australia:
Australian Museum, Sydney;
Grainger Museum, Melbourne;
Macleay Museum, University of Sydney;
Museum of Queensland, Brisbane;
Museum of South Australia, Adelaide;
Museum of Victoria, Melbourne;
Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston; and
Tasmanian Art Gallery and Museum, Hobart.

In New Zealand:
Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland;
Canterbury Museum, Christchurch;
Otago Museum, Dunedin;
Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington; and
Waikato Museum, Hamilton.

In Europe:
GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig;
Linden-Museum, Stuttgart;
Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin;
Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden;
Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München (renamed the Museum Fünf Kontinente in 2014).

I also looked for masks in the on-line catalogues of the British Museum, London and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

In the United States:
Neither the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem nor the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, both in Massachusetts, have masks (Hilary Scothorn, pers. comm., although I take responsibility for any error).

Rod Dixon made significant contributions in compiling this document, including additional provenance details, historical commentary, and valuable primary and secondary reference materials.

In the text, I have referred to individual masks by their geographical location followed by their registration number, e.g., Hobart M.695.

— Jacqui Durrant

AUCKLAND WAR MEMORIAL MUSEUM

The Auckland War Memorial Museum has four pare ‘eva.

While he was conducting a botanical survey in 1899, Thomas F. Cheeseman (chief curator, Auckland Museum, 1875-1919) collected two pare ‘eva in ‘Arorangi on Rarotonga (Neich 1997:78), near the large Mangaian community in Titikaveka.

The first of these masks (Durrant, this volume, Figure 3) comes with a full costume (Auckland 8353-8355) including matching shirt and pants. Instead of a cone, the upper part of the mask is square, being constructed of four panels that are arched at the top. The front panel has the word or name “Tamatua” or possibly “Tamarua” (a village on Mangaia) along the top, and is decorated with a combination of motifs strongly derived from traditional tattoo patterns and designs painted on canoes (Buck 1944:131, 406). A piece of tapa that hangs down to cover the face is attached separately, and this is trimmed with a beard of brown plant fibre streamers and a fringe of bright blue paper. The remnants of canes that radiated from the head, originally decorated with fringed tufts of blue cloth can also be seen. The accompanying costume is decorated with fine but roughly painted black abstract motifs including zigzags and tattoo motifs, such as the puvakevake. The tapa is fringed along the sleeves, shirt bottom, and legs (Durrant, this volume, Fig.2).

The second mask collected on Rarotonga by Cheeseman (Auckland 8381, 87x31cm) is similar, though sufficiently different in detail to have been painted by a different hand. It has some finely painted motifs including the tuata‘iti motif on the cone, in-filled with tight zigzags, and botanical forms on the face. The apex of the cone has been trimmed with three tufts of bast, and tufts of bast attached to shallow triangular pieces of tapa projecting from either side imitate ‘ears.’ There are the remains of a fringed tapa ‘beard’ along the bottom (Durrant, this volume, Fig.6).

The Museum purchased a third pare ‘eva (Auckland 1925.146) from a Miss Issacs in 1925. Relatively austere in form, with a tall thin finial, it is made solely of tapa that appears to have been dyed yellow (possibly with renga-tumeric dye). It has been painted with fine black and brown lines also using motifs derived from tattoos. The tapa is fringed along the bottom.

Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) donated the fourth pare ‘eva (Auckland AM1009, 108x25cm) – and last to be acquired by any museum in this survey – to the Auckland War Memorial and Museum in 1927. According to Jeff Evans, Auckland Museum,

The donation was mentioned in the Museum’s annual report for that year, but only went as far as saying, “Dr. and Mrs Buck have both given very interesting specimens of New Zealand and other Polynesian native art, including a fine old Mangaian drum.” We do know that Buck was in the Cook Islands in 1926, so whether he collected the mask during that trip, or collected it earlier from a dealer or otherwise, we are none the wiser.

> ***It has some finely painted motifs including the tuata‘iti motif on the cone, in-filled with tight zigzags, and botanical forms on the face. The apex of the cone has been trimmed with three tufts of bast, and tufts of bast attached to shallow triangular pieces of tapa projecting from either side imitate ‘ears.’***

In its painted designs, this masks shares a resemblance with Hobart M.695 in having a broad zigzag pattern around its cone, the difference being the addition of finer motifs of vines and leaves between the lines. The bottom of the mask is trimmed with fringed tapa. The apex of the cone is trimmed with streamers, which also appear to be tapa.

ARTHUR BAESSLER
GERMANY

In 1899, German collector and ethnographer Arthur Baessler described and illustrated two Mangaian masks in the journal *Ethnologisches Notizblatt* (1899). In the same article, he also mentioned two masks collected on Rarotonga, but he did not describe them as they were still in transit. It is possible that they still exist in a German museum today, although I have not been able to locate them.

Baessler made several trips through the Pacific, during which time he collected examples of material culture, some of which were later acquired by museums such as the Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden and Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. It is likely Baessler collected these four masks on his third voyage to the South Seas between 1895 and 1898. Baessler described Maske No.1 (79cm high) as "fantastically coloured" (1899:33): it is elaborately painted in black, red, and blue. While the face appears to be black on white tapa with clearly marked moustache and eyelashes, the cone has a variety of motifs including diamonds (a common pattern on Mangaian tapa) painted in solid colour. Like the Hobart M.695, this mask has a long tapering finial that arches forward – in this case trimmed on the end with opposing sprays of cocks' feathers. The bottom of the mask is trimmed on its front with a long beard of horsehair, while a fringe of yellow tapa to cover the neck, runs along the back. Maske No.2 (84cm high) has no underlying frame, being made of some kind of stiffer fabric. In terms of facial features, the eyes and mouth are rimmed in black, but it has virtually no other painted decoration. Baessler noted, however, that "other decorations are missing" (1899:33; Durrant, this volume, Fig.7).

Markus Schindlbeck, senior curator of Oceanic collections at Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin said that there are two conical tapa masks (Berlin VI 22185-86) in the collection, both collected by Arthur Baessler (Schindlbeck, pers. comm.). These entered the museum in 1899, and their labels attribute them to Waipai [Vaipae] on Aitutaki. One label states that the mask is an imitation of a mask from British New Guinea. The term 'paretāreka' [festival mask] is also connected with the masks.

BERNICE PAUAHI BISHOP MUSEUM
HONOLULU

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu) holds a complete 'eva costume comprising a pare 'eva (Honolulu 06308 [96x36x16cm]), shirt (Honolulu 06305), and pants (Honolulu 06306, 06307). The mask (06308) is described at length by Buck (1944:102-103). The tapa on the mask has been stitched to the frame with hibiscus bast, and sewn together with a similar material along the back midline. It has 'coarse' designs painted in black, with a tapa fringe 'beard' along the front and long strips of hibiscus bast hanging down the back as 'hair.' Triangles with tufts of hibiscus bast on the apices project like ears from either side of the mask (this compares with Auckland 8381; Durrant, this volume, Fig.6). The clothes are made of off-white tapa and feature bold designs painted in black, extensively derived from traditional tattoo motifs, including circular motifs, manuta'i, ruru, or kau and puvakevake designs (Buck 1944:131). The costume is complete, but sample strips have been cut from the shirt, and the pants have been divided into two 'legs.'

> ***The masks are lashed together so that it looks both forward and backward.***

Michelle Kamalu duPreez, Assistant Collections Manager, Cultural Collections, at the Bishop Museum, provided the following information: Mr and Mrs Kahu gifted the mask to the Museum in 1903. They are part of accession number 1903.047 in the Ethnology Collection, which included three other tapa garments from Mangaia and a piece of tapa from Niue. It seems that Mr and Mrs Kahu accompanied Bishop Museum Field Naturalist Alvin Seale on one of his trips to Polynesia, more specifically the Society, Tuamotu, Marquesa, Gambier, and Austral Islands in French Polynesia, the Cook Islands, and Samoa. Seale also went to New Zealand, Australia, the New Hebrides, and Solomon Islands returning to Hawai'i in September 1903 (duPreez, pers. comm.).

GRAINGER MUSEUM
MELBOURNE

Musician Percy Grainger recorded and preserved Cook Islands music, originally collected by Alfred Knocks, at the Christchurch Exhibition of 1906/07 (Barwell 2005). Two masks in the collections of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand were obtained at the 1906 Exhibition.

OTAGO MUSEUM
DUNEDIN

Otago Museum (Dunedin) holds a double-sided dance mask (Dunedin D21.46, 45cm), recorded with the name "katu tūpāpaku mask," and acquired 1920 or 1921 from F.W. Platts, then Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands. It is a double-sided wooden mask, designed to fit over the head of the wearer. Probably carved of coconut wood, its coarse facial features (eyes and mouth rimmed in sold black lines and incorporating a moustache with upturned ends) are painted with commercial paint. The masks are lashed together so that it looks both forward and backward. It has a full head of hair, described in the museum register as being of hessian, string, and horse hair. It also shows signs of having once had a fibre beard that is now not the case, at present most obvious near the lower lip. It is discussed in detail in Luomala (1977:145 et. seq.).

TASMANIAN ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM
HOBART

The earliest date of acquisition that I found for a pare 'eva mask is 1897, when a mask (Tasmania M.695) entered the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (Hobart). It was acquired from Lieutenant Willis of a Royal Naval gunboat *HMS Goldfinch,* and is currently labelled as having come from Santa Cruz (Solomon Islands) where *HMS Goldfinch* frequently patrolled. More than likely, this misattribution arises from the fact that a quantity of Solomon Islands material was acquired by the Museum at the same time, probably from Willis's shipmates.[1] *HMS Goldfinch* was a frequent caller to Rarotonga and visited Mangaia at least once in 1891.[2] The simplest of all the masks, the Hobart pare

[1] *Hobart was an important deep-water transit port throughout the 19th century with many sailors and naval officers visiting, 25 of whom donated some 200 objects to the museum (Ewins 1997).*

[2] *New Zealand Herald, 28(8588):5, 9 Jun 1891.*

'eva is covered in horizontal finely ribbed (i.e., showing impressions of the tapa beater) off-white tapa cloth sewn together along the back midline, which has been twisted around a long, tapering finial that arches forward. Its decoration, which is far coarser than other examples, includes zigzag patterns around the cone in alternating black and (now faded) brown or red lines. The tapa is fringed along the bottom.

TE PAPA TONGAREWA MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND
WELLINGTON

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa has six pare 'eva in its collection, as well as two tiputa (shirts).

The museum catalogue describes pare 'eva (Wellington FE000626, Durrant, this volume, Fig.5) as

An elaborate conical mask consisting of a base frame of cane covered with tapa. The face is painted in red and brown on the lower part and has cut out eyes and mouth with lines which perhaps indicate a beard, radiating from below the mouth. The face was originally extensively fringed with white feathers which continue above it; now only the extension above the face on one side is intact. There are three fringes of plant fibre, one from the base of the mask proper, covering the neck, one above the face, and one at the tip of the cone. A pole extends upwards from the tip of the cone and it decorated with black and white feathers. circa. 1900.

Wellington FE008435 is registered as a Gift of Masonic Lodge Tawera o Kapiti in 1950.

Two more masks were registered, possibly in the 1930s, without provenance details. Their registration numbers are Wellington FE002321/1 and Wellington FE002321/2 (Durrant, this volume, Figures 11 and 7 respectively).

Finally, two masks, and two tiputa were registered at the same time, and the provenance is clear. They were purchased at the Christchurch Exhibition in 1906/7, and are from the costumes worn by a performance troupe led by Daniela Tangitoru (Durrant, this volume, Figure 2).

Hutton et al. (2000:103) give the context for the acquisition for these items:

The Cook Islanders arrived first, landing at Auckland on the Manapouri in October 1906. The Niueans arrived in Christchurch in December 1906. The Cook Islands group was made up of islanders from different islands: seven were from Mangaia, thirteen from Rarotonga and six from Aitutaki (Davidson 1997). After gaining permission from the Colonial Secretary, Hamilton purchased 51 objects from Mr H.W. Bishop, an agent acting for the Cook Islanders. They consisted of spears, 'akatara (pole clubs), ceremonial adzes, fish and eel traps, two pate (drums), four masks, two tiputa (ponchos), an 'are (house), and a painted vaka from Mangaia named A'ua'u.

However, it appears that only two of the masks are in the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum's collection today. (It could be speculated that Wellington FE002321/1 and Wellington FE002321/2 were acquired at the same time, but previous information I have, that they were, in fact, registered some time in the 1930s, as well as clear stylistic differences, seem to indicate otherwise.)

These two pare 'eva (Fig.1) in the collection were clearly sourced during the time of the Christchurch exhibition. The first, Wellington FE002323/1, made in 1906 and purchased in 1907, is a conical mask consisting of a light cane frame covered with tapa. A pole extending above the cone is decorated with fibre and feathers. The undyed tapa is hand painted in black. Lines around the eyes indicate lashes and lines above the mouth perhaps depict a moustache. There is a central inverted triangle above the eyes, and above this, four rows of triangles. A blue dyed paper fringing is sewn to the base of the tapa mask.

The second, Wellington FE002323/2 1906/7, made in 1906 and purchased 1907, is a conical mask consisting of a base frame of cane and narrow sticks covered with tapa. The face is painted in black on the lower part and has cutout eyes and mouth with a moustache above and lines that perhaps indicate a beard, radiating below the mouth. There are lines indicating hair around the side of the eyes. Above the eyes are two curly lines indicating eyebrows and above that is a line of small rectangles with a central line through. Above the rectangles are triangles and radiating lines. A fringe of tapa is cut out from the base of the mask proper. A pole extends upwards from the tip of the cone with a small bunch of five black feathers, then a strip of tapa covers the pole, and a bunch of smaller feathers is at the very top. Very obvious tapa beater impressions cover the tapa. Smaller pieces of tapa have been sewn together by machine. The mask has been hand-stitched to the frame. On the basis of a contemporary photograph, this mask is more than likely the one worn in performance by Tangitoru himself.

> ***An elaborate conical mask consisting of a base frame of cane covered with tapa. The face is painted in red and brown on the lower part and has cut out eyes and mouth with lines which perhaps indicate a beard, radiating from below the mouth.***

The two tiputa which went with these masks are FE002324 and FE002325, purchased in 1907.

FIGURE 1
Artefacts acquired by the Dominion Museum 1907 from Mangaian participants at the New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch – pātē (slit gong), kano maia (ceremonial adze), tutunga (tapa anvil) 'ike (tapa beaters) and masks FE002323/2 (left) and FE002323/1 (right).

They not only provide valuable insights into the cultural context of pare 'eva and related costumes, but also record a great number of masks that no longer exist.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Finally, it is worth noting that the pare 'eva masks are surprisingly well-documented in contemporary photographs.

The photographs I located are spread across the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, and Alexander Turnbull Library. They not only provide valuable insights into the cultural context of pare 'eva and related costumes, but also record a great number of masks that no longer exist. Although spread across various institutions, the photographs appear to document three separate occasions, as follows.

The first group of photographs was taken in 1906 at a tārekareka on Rarotonga, 11-13 June 1906. Some of the images appeared in the *Otago Witness* (18 Jul 1906:46), along with a description of the event (1906:66). The pictures I could locate in museums are Te Papa B.027666 and Turnbull PAColl-8066-08-12-2s (Dixon, this volume, Fig.1). Another photograph in the *Otago Witness* (18 Jul 1906:45) showed a group of Mangaians in elaborately decorated tapa shirts, pants and masks preparing to participate in a dance at the Rarotongan tārekareka.

Second, there is a photograph taken at the Christchurch Exhibition of 1906/07 of Daniela Tangitoru wearing a complete 'eva costume, with a series of pedestal adzes also featured (Te Papa B.002818; Durrant, this volume, Fig.2). This may have been taken by press photographer Leslie Hinge.

Third, Stephen Savage took a most interesting and informative set of photographs at the Cook Islands Annexation Celebrations on Taputapuatea in Avarua, Rarotonga in 1907. Two of these appeared in the *Otago Witness* (14 Aug 1907:47) along with a description of the event (1907:77). This set of photographs is either broken up or replicated in institutions in Auckland, Wellington, and Honolulu. These images are: Wellington MA_1069497, Honolulu SP_204436, Auckland C23697, and Honolulu SP_216961, as well as two images in the *Otago Witness* (14 Aug 1907:49).

One of these photographs, Auckland C23697, is found in the album of Walter Gudgeon (Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands 1898-1909) and bears the contemporary inscription, "The Mangaians in festival attire 1906" (Durrant, this volume, Fig.12). This date conflicts with the depiction of photographs apparently from the same set appearing in the *New Zealand Graphic,* 10 August 1907.

Finally, there are two photographs in the George Crummer collection in Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of young Caucasian men (Wellington B.028283 and Wellington B.27658), wearing pare 'eva and coir caps, posing as Mangaian and Atiuan warriors. In photograph Te Papa B.028283, they are 'spearing' a mock pile of six sailors. The photographs are dated c. 1914, and provenance notes suggest they were taken at the time of a visit by Dr Maui Pomare, who was then Minister in Charge of the Cook Islands. Pomare, however, visited the Cook Islands in numerous roles on various occasions, attending the 1906 'entertainments' in Rarotonga as a guest of the Resident Commissioner during his time as Native Health Officer (*Evening Post,* 9-11 Jul 1906:2). I suggest that the photographs are from 1906 or 1907.

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Too many museum curators and academics in Australia, New Zealand, Honolulu, throughout Europe, and of course, on Rarotonga, have helped with this research to thank here personally. However, Jacqui Durrant would like to say a special thanks to Rod Dixon for his research assistance and insights, which proved invaluable — meitaki ma'ata.

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GLOSSARY

'akatara	pole club
'are	house
'eva	ceremony for mourning and other occasions
katu tūpāpaku	Mangaian carved wooden mask
kau	name of a tattoo motif
manuta'i	name of a tattoo motif
meitaki ma'ata	thank you very much
pare 'eva	Mangaian mask made of bark cloth
pare tāreka	'festival mask'; *see* pare 'eva
pātē	drum
puvakevake	name of a tattoo motif
renga	tumeric
ruru	name of a tattoo motif
tapa	bark cloth
tārekareka	amuse, entertain
tiputa	poncho, short-sleeved shirt
vaka	canoe

Appendix Two

MARIONETTES, EFFIGIES, AND CARVED HUMAN FIGURES FROM MANGAIA

Rod Dixon

Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa observed that –

the idea of representing the gods in some conventional human form in wood or stone belongs to the early period of settlement in the Pacific . . . . This early form of religious expression was retained wholly in Rarotonga, partly in Aitutaki, and abandoned in favor of other forms in Atiu, Mauke and Mitiaro. Mangaia also changed to new forms but retained a fragment of the past in the two stone images of Rongo (1944:463).

These two stone images, in human form, stood permanently at the shore marae O Rongo and were known as Rongo Nui (Rongo the Great) and Rongo-i-te-arero-kute (Rongo of the red tongue) (Gill 1894:332; Buck 1934:170). They were destroyed in the early missionary period, and some of the stone incorporated into the first church built on Mangaia.[1] No visual record of these images remains.

The Mangaian ancestral god Vatea, the son of Vari and father of Rongo, possessed a half human form, the other half being a fish (Gill 1876:3), but "the great Vatea possessed no marae, had no wooden or stone representation, nor was any worship ever paid to him" (Gill 1876:18). In the 1950s, Mangaian carver Raphael Timi'iti made several wooden representations of Vatea, believed to be now in private collections.

Another carved representation of the human form dates to the period immediately preceding the missionary arrival on Mangaia. This carving, by Tuarau and Tumutoa of Ivirua, was of Vairoto, a Karanga man designated as a sacrifice to initiate the rule of the warrior chief Pangemiro around 1821. Rather than lose a member of his tribe, Pangemiro sent a carved human figure to the marae Akaoro as a substitute for Vairoto (Buck 1934:128).

Nine other examples of Mangaian representations of the human form date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, comprising five puppets or marionettes, two effigies, and two carved statues (all described below).

PUPPETS AND MARIONETTES

According to Katherine Luomala, there is no evidence of a tradition of marionettes or puppets in pre-European Mangaia. She considers these a probable extension of indigenous theatrical art and creativity, of which Mangaia enjoyed an "unusually brilliant" tradition in the 19th century (1977:133).

Images of six Mangaian puppets or marionettes are shown below (Figs.1-6). None has been preserved in museum collections. At least four of the six puppets illustrated, have features, such as eyes and mouths, which are manipulable by string or wire, qualifying them as marionettes. The figures are male, with exaggerated facial features. They are crowned, either with a European-style crown or a Polynesian wreath. In one (Fig.5), the right ear is decorated with cowrie shell pendants, reminiscent of pre-Christian personal ornamentation. (Gill, for example, described how traditional Mangaian adornment included "numerous ornaments of shell and human hair [that] were suspended at the lobe of each ear" [1880:140]).

According to contemporary accounts, the puppets/marionettes represented Mangaian gods. In Figure 1, the gods represented by the large wooden marionettes are "a sea god and one from the mountains" (*Otago Witness* 18 Jul 1906:64). In Mangaian traditions, Ake is the sea water god and Ao the freshwater god, but the same newspaper account identifies them as "Tane Ngakiao" (the "land god") and "Tanekio" (the "sea god"). The *Otago Witness* reported,

Another [performance] in which the [Mangaian] tribe were clad in seaweeds and mosses, represented a battle between the sea-god and one from the mountains. They were decidedly curious looking specimens of deities, even for heathen ones, both wearing immense wooden head-dresses and masks, one having movable eyes worked with a string, which produced a most terrifying appearance. (18 Jul 1906:64).

A second photo captioned "Fight between Land God Tanengakiao and Sea God Tanekio" shows two men wearing the marionette heads confronting each other in performance.[2]

A photograph in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection (Fig.5) shows another Mangaian marionette head. This was used as part of the entertainments to honour Sir Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa during his fieldwork on Mangaia

[1] Gill (1894:267) wrote of the image of Rongo, "A large block of stone, rudely shaped like a man, was also regarded as an inferior representation of the Polynesian Mars [god of war]. Many years ago, when these people embraced Christianity, this huge stone idol was utterly defaced, and the fragments form part of the stonework of the church at the principal village."

[2] Otago Witness , Issue 2732, 18 July 1906, Page 45.

FIGURE 1
Cook Islanders from Mangaia Island, Cook Islands (Photo: Stephen Savage. PAColl-8066-08-12-2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington). *Otago Witness* published this photograph and captioned it "A Group of Mangaian Performers, the Gods Tanengakiao and Tanekio in front" (*Otago Witness* 18 Jul 1906:64).

2

3

VISITORS FROM MANGAIA, WITH TWO FAMOUS DEITIES—TINIR AU AND TUMUTEANGAOA ("GREAT ECHO GOD").

4

5

6

> ***According to contemporary accounts, the puppets represented Mangaian gods.***

(December – April 1929-1930). Luomala described this head as

a marionette, operated, as far as is discernible . . . . by two or three devices, namely a looped cord, an internal pole serving perhaps as a spindle and an external stick either to operate the spindle or serve as a costume accessory . . . . The puppeteer worked on a high stage with a mat stretched below the head to conceal him and his activities (1977:165).

The stage can be seen in Figure 6.

EFFIGIES

In addition to puppets and marionettes, representations of gods in human form are found in Mangaian performance effigies. There is some evidence of a pre-European tradition for such effigies in Central Polynesia, though not specifically Mangaia. Cook, on his visit to Tahiti in 1768, encountered a tall woven image of the god Maui,

said by the natives to be used in their Heiva's or publick entertainments, probably as Punch is in a Puppet Show. It was the figure of a man made in basketwork 7½ feet high and every [other] way large in proportion, the head was ornamented with four nobs resembling stumps of horns, three stood in front and one behind, the whole of this figure was covered with feathers, white for the ground upon which [black lines] imitating hair and the Marks of tattou, it had on a maro or cloth about its loins, under which were proofs of it being intended for a man (Cook 1968:111-112 quoted in Luomala 1973:44).

Two Mangaian effigies (Figs.7 & 8) from 1907 and 1914 respectively, provide evidence of the continued use of effigies in public entertainments. Mangaia carver Raphael Timi'iti recalled their continued use on the island as late as 1926 (Apeldorn and Kareroa n.d.:45). In 2003, Mangaian participants in the Cook Islands Maeva Nui celebrations revived the use of effigies (see Fig.11).

In Figure 7, the effigy apparently represents the female Mangaian creation god Vari-tumu-enua (*Otago Witness* 14 Aug 1907:77), though another contemporary report claimed it to be the Mangaian god of war [Rongo] (*New Zealand Herald* 3 Aug 1907:8).

According to Timi'iti, the Mangaian effigies were operated by two men inside the basket-work structure (Apeldorn and Kareroa n.d.:45). The effigy in Figure 8 is surmounted by a marionette head with "several little animated jointed figures, representing six of his favorite children" atop the crown, all of which are operated by wires. The arms were also mobile, "waving a sort of general benediction" (*Otago Witness* 14 Aug 1907:77).

FIGURES 2 & 3
Two Mangaian marionette heads from the tārekareka or festival at Taputapuatea, Rarotonga (July 1907). Both marionette heads (identified in the caption to Figure 4 below, as Tinirau and Tumuteanaoa) were worn over the performer's head and appear to have large moveable eyes. (photo: Stephen Savage, Negative Number C23697, Auckland War Memorial Museum).

FIGURE 4
"Visitors from Mangaia with two famous deities – Tinirau and Tumuteangaoa : Great Echo God." *Auckland Weekly News*, August 1907 (Photo: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZG-19070810-6-1).

FIGURE 5
Mangaian marionette head (photo: attributed to Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa, Neg. 14679, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu).

FIGURE 6
The Mangaian puppet from Figure 5 on stage of pandanus mats. "Feast puppet show to amuse guests," Negative 14678, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

According to a contemporary newspaper account of the tārekareka or entertainment at Taputapuatea, Rarotonga on July 1907, at which this photograph (Figure 7) was taken,

The great original god of Mangaia, Vari-tumu-enua, was the first to make an appearance in answer to an incantation with instrumental musical effect . . . . The appearance of Vari-tumu-enua (literally. Mud the foundation of the earth) was indeed a fearful and wonderful one, as he [sic] slowly came into sight, an enormous figure 10ft high, with huge eyes that flashed up and down in time to the music, and arms waving a sort of general benediction to all his people. A crown was on his head surmounted by several little animated jointed figures representing six of his favorite children, of whom he was so fond that he always carried them on his head, and who never grew up to manhood but always, to this day, remain children. These wriggled and jumped in the most entertaining fashion, being worked with wires. Those figures are got up regardless of trouble and with no little mechanical skill . . . (Otago Witness 14 Aug 1907:77).

Another newspaper reported,

The chief songs and dances of the Mangaians concerned, Vari te Tumu Enua (Mud —the foundation of the Earth), the ancestor of Gods and Man in Mangaia, and his [sic] six sons, Avatea, half-man and half-fish, Tumu te a Ngaoa [Tumuteanaoa], the great Echo god; Tiniru [Tinirau], the man god on Motutapu; Raka, Tango and Tumumetua [Tu-metua]. All these gods were represented by huge grotesque figures, the man-fish god, Avatea, being suspended in mid-air where he made evolutions of a navatorial character (Auckland Star 1 Aug 1907:2).

A third newspaper described the effigy:

One feature in this display was of especial interest, being in the shape of an immense representation of a war god, some twelve feet high, walking at the head of the procession; the ogling eyes and waving hands were much appreciated, especially by the juveniles (New Zealand Herald 3 Aug 1907:8).

> *The effigy pictured has three linear rays radiating from its head, possibly representing the three original tribes of Mangaia.*

An effigy of Tane was also present when the Governor General of New Zealand. Lord Plunket, visited Mangaia in 1909. As the *Auckland Star* reported, the Mangaian entertainments for the Governor General included a group from

the village of Tamarua — quite a crowd of them — and, in addition to their drum-band, they were accompanied by their god Tane, a fearsome structure, fifteen feet high, made in the likeness of a god that could only be imagined by a native mind. Tane, or rather his bust, for that is all there was of him, was hollow, and he was full of men, like the wooden horse at Troy. His occupants had not, however, come to stay — merely to work his head, arms, and eyes, which all moved in an absurd manner, and drew shrieks of laughter from the spectators (Auckland Star 5 Jul 1909:6).

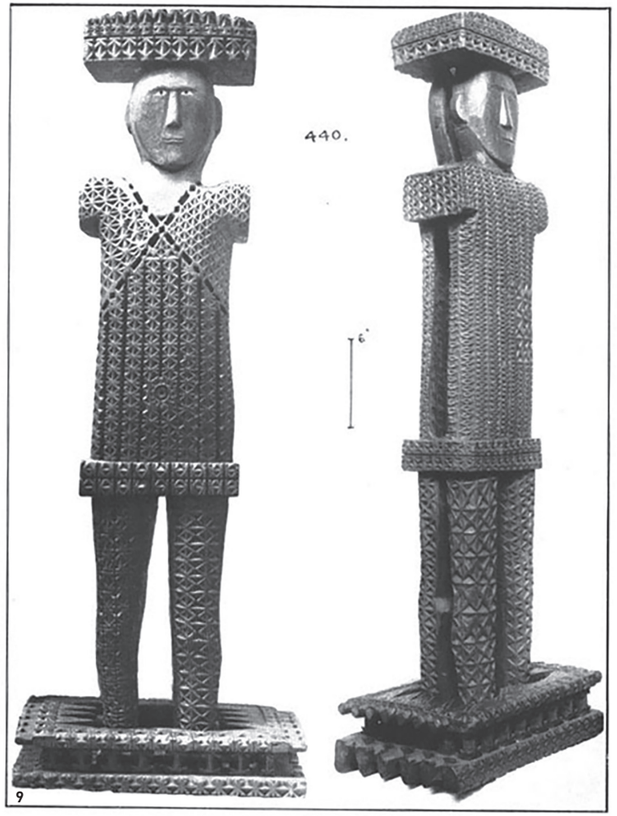
The image reproduced as Figure 8 appeared in the *Auckland Weekly News,* 9 July 1914. The effigy pictured has three linear rays radiating from its head, possibly representing the three original tribes of Mangaia. As in Figure 7, the upper body is covered in tapa, while the lower body has a dress of kikau or hibiscus bast.

Mangaian carver Raphael Timi'iti recalled entertainments similar to those in 1909 and 1914, this time at the May Festival, Oneroa, Mangaia in 1926.

Arriving . . . from Tava'enga was Rongo who was fifteen feet tall, clearly illustrating his mightiness. Two men were inside Rongo's form making it so mighty. The arms on top were wrapped in kaka [stipule of the coconut frond], giving the impression of valor. Rongo's hair was made out of horsehair and ti [Cordyline terminalis] leaves covered his whole body. The legend that was performed illustrated the power of Rongo throughout the world. The two lesser gods [on the field, Tane-kio and Tane Ngakiau] who were from Tahiti had nowhere to hide from Rongo and were pleading with him to stay on the island. They tried to appease Rongo by dancing before him (Apeldorn and Kareroa n.d.:45).

FIGURE 7
"Group from the Island of Mangaia, Cook Islands, in traditional dress, with gods Vari [largest figure] and Tane Kiao [unidentified]" July, 1907 (photo: PA1-f-126-06-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

FIGURE 8
"Heathen Dance at Mangaia," *Auckland Weekly News* 9 July 1914, p.54 (Photo: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19140709-54-4).



STATUES

Two other figurative carvings from Mangaia are statues carved from wood and decorated with design motifs typical of Mangaia.

Figure 9 from the Oldman collection (currently on loan to the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society from the Napier Museum) is known as Ranginui. Oldman described the statue as follows -

Gong, cut from a log of coarse-grained wood in the form of two jugated figures, the body is hollowed out forming the gong, one of the bodies is pierced with slots, the other is solid. The top or head-dress is rectangular and roughly hollowed. The base is a later addition, of native make, made to support the gong in an upright position. The carving is large and the design on body of one figure is unusual, being rows of diamonds or lozenges and a square of more ordinary carving introduced on left side. A very old label attached but unfortunately obliterated with age. Height, 49½ins.; body width, 8¾ins.; depth, 4⅝ins. Mangaia. Ex. Collection of the late Lord Guillamore (1938:10).

In 1930, Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa photographed the statue in Figure 10. During his visit to Mangaia in 1946, the British artist Robert Gibbings purchased the statue, which remains in the Gibbings family collection.

FIGURE 9
Oldman Collection Number 440 (Oldman 1938:10, 37-46).

FIGURE 10
Mangaian carving, c.1930. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu).

The carving is large and the design on body of one figure is unusual, being rows of diamonds or lozenges and a square of more ordinary carving introduced on left side.

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10 Aug 1907, Photo Supplement, *New Zealand Graphic*, page 6.

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5 Jul 1909. His Excellency's Island Cruise. *Auckland Star* 40 (158): 5-6.

9 Jul 1914. Heathen Dance at Mangaia. *Auckland Weekly News*: page 54.

FIGURE 11
Mangaian participants revived masked figures and effigies for the 2003 Maeva Nui Celebrations, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (photo: Mark Frauenfelder).

FIGURE 12
"Mangaia Natives Awaiting Their Turn" New Zealand Graphic, 10 August 1907: 6 (Photo: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZG-19070810-6-3).

Appendix Three

A BRIEF CATALOGUE OF MANGAIAN STAFF GODS IN WORLD MUSEUMS

Rod Dixon

According to Mangaian tradition there were 13 representations of the Mangaian gods in the island's national godhouse, Te-Kai'ara. Buck writes that, with the exception of Rongo,[1] they were all carved in wood.

The ta'unga responsible for carving eleven of these god figures was Rori.[2] The twelfth god, Rori's own god, Teipe, was carved by his friend Tapaivi.[3] The period of their creation was the late 17th century.[4]

The twelve wooden images or representations in the godhouse were of the gods Motoro, Tane-papa-kai, Tane-ngaki-au, Tane-i-te-utu, Tane-kio, Te-aio, Te-kuraaki, Utakea, Turanga, Teipe, Kereteki, and Tangiia.

The images carved by Rori were of ironwood and consisted of rude representations of the human form. The image of Motoro was decorated with the red feathers that Rori's grandfather had brought from Tahiti. Rori also obtained some hair from his aunt Mangaia to adorn the head of the image. . . . The images were wrapped with the special white bark cloth, as thick as cardboard, termed tikoru mataiapo (cloth of the first-born), which was manufactured by the priests of Turanga. . . . After the acceptance of Christianity, the gods were removed from the godhouse and the wrappings were stripped from the gods and thrown into the sea. The denuded images were handed over to Williams and Platt and were eventually deposited in the British Museum (Buck 1934:170).

CURRENT LOCATION OF THE MANGAIAN GOD FIGURES

This note locates six of the twelve wooden god images in world museum collections and briefly records a possible seventh, in the British Museum collection, and an eighth, displayed at the Evangelical Missionary Museum at the Exposition Universelle in Paris 1867, but whose current location is unknown.

Figures 1 – 4. British Museum, London.
Buck (1944:37) located three images (Figs.1-3), identified in the British Museum catalogue as "district gods of Mangaia, names now lost," that he believed to have been carved by Rori and on which the "sennit and feather ornamentation of the shafts still remains" (1944:372). These are -

Figure 1. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (also known as LMS number 32)
This district god of Mangaia is made of wood, sennit, feathers, and rope (sennit, human hair). The museum card index states, "The head is carved in open work, with three rows of lozenge shaped openings, alternating with rows of pierced ridges on all four sides." Buck notes the haft is wound in "close transverse turns around the upper end of the shaft and the beautiful multiple lozenge pattern termed *inaere* for the rest . . ." (1944:375).

Figure 2. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.42 (also known as LMS 42; LMS 31; LMS 100; LMS 234),
"At different levels, feathers, human hair, and coir holders from which the feathers have fallen out were introduced in rows and fixed by the transverse turns of sennit which pass over and conceal their lower ends" (Buck 1944:375).

Figure 3. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.43 (also known as LMS 43; LMS 30, LMS 98).

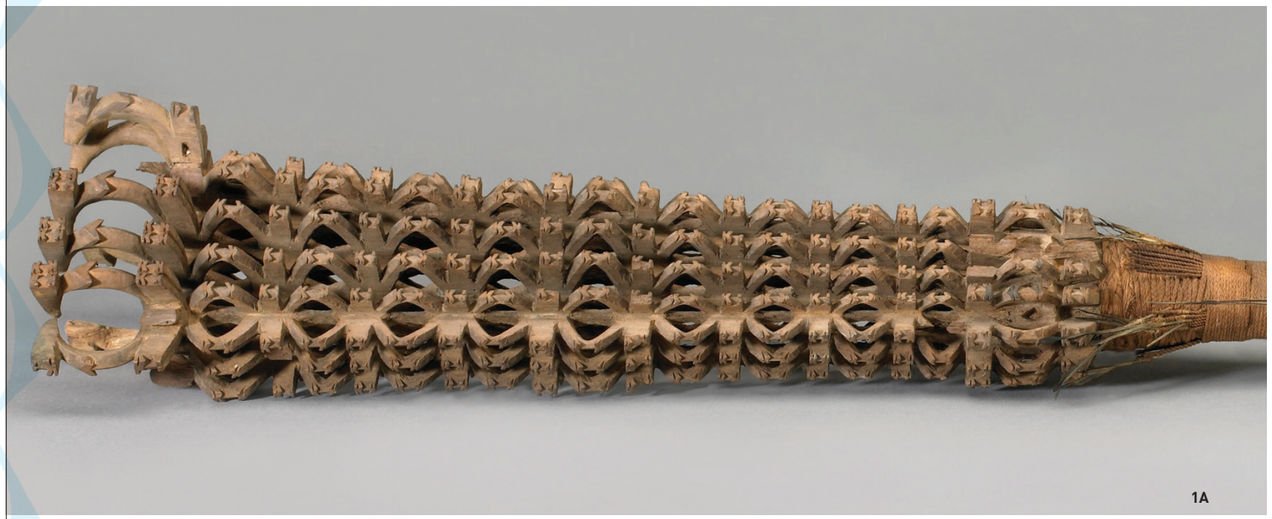
[1] *Rongo was carved in stone at the marae O Rongo and represented by a triton shell in the national godhouse (Gill 1894:331-332).*

[2] *Rori was the son of Rongoariki and grandson of Una from Tahiti. Una and Rongoariki were expert in carving and sennit lashing and passed these skills to Rori. Rori was forced into exile in the Mangaian raei or karrenfeld after the battle of Māueue but returned many years later under the protection of Manaune who wished him to carve his god Tiaio for the national godhouse (see Gill 1894:214-239).*

[3] *"Curiously enough, Rori the Hermit would on no account carve his own idol. He therefore asked his friend Tapaivi to carve it" (Gill 1894:333).*

[4] *"According to genealogies, Rori lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century" (Buck 1944:472).*

1



1A

FIGURE 1
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (also known as LMS number 32) Length 138.5 cms (54.5ins) (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

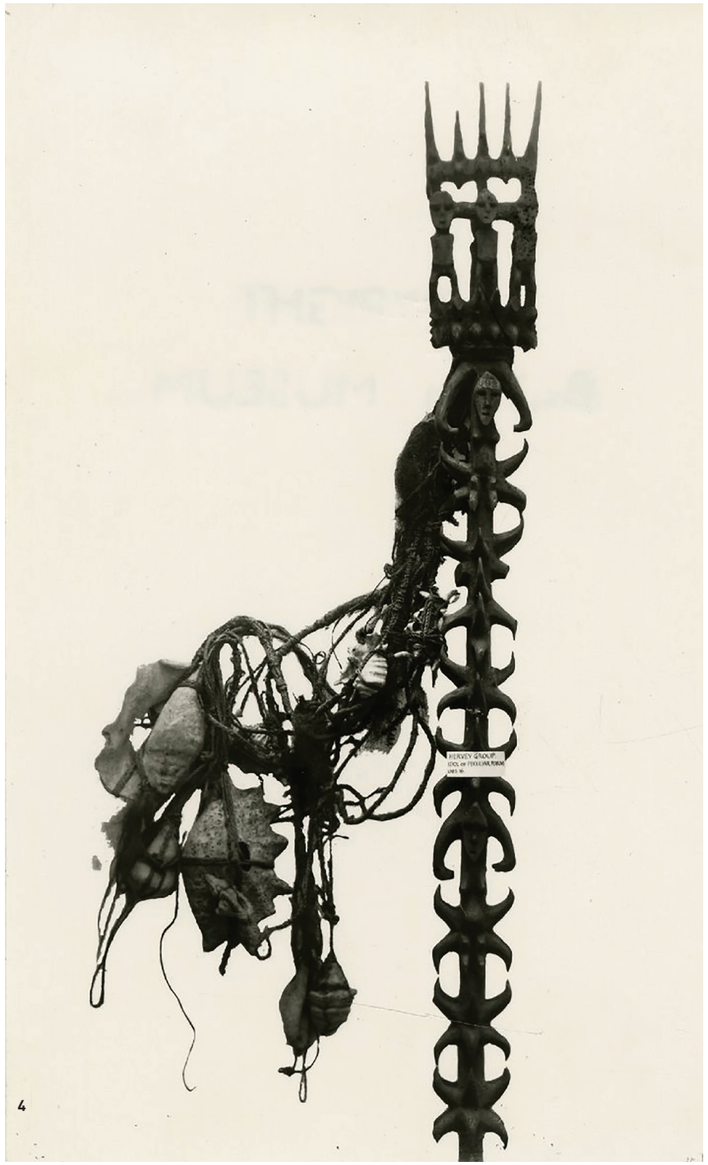
FIGURE 1A
Detail, District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

2

FIGURE 2
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.42 (also known as LMS 42; LMS 31; LMS 100; LMS 234). Open-work, carved wood, human hair, coir. Length 90cms [35.4ins] (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

3

FIGURE 3
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.43 (also known as LMS 43; LMS 30, LMS 98). Wood, human hair, coir. Length 85.7 cm [33.7 in] (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).



4

FIGURE 4
Spiked God. Deity image made of wood, sinnet rope, marine shells, human hair. Mangaia. LMS.41. Height 16 cm, width 9.7 cm, full length 288.6 mm [114 in] (photo Oc,B65.19: © Trustees of the British Museum).

5

FIGURE 5
Albumen print of a spiked God attributed to Mangaia – current location unknown (photo: *Musée des Missions évangéliques, Exposition Universelle, Paris 1867).*

PLANCHE V.

Idole faite avec des épines recourbées, des coquillages et des cheveux tressés, de Mangaïa (Océanie.) — 2. C. 5A

FIGURE 5A
Catalogue entry, Musée des Missions évangéliques, Exposition Universelle, Paris: Grassart 1867.

Figure 4. Spiked God. Deity image made of wood, sinnet rope, marine shells, human hair. Mangaia. LMS.41.
Buck is unsure whether to attribute the staff god in Figure 4 to Mangaia, noting "Somehow, I mistook the locality for Mangaia, and I hoped that because of the human figures, human hair, and red feather decoration that it might be Motoro. However, the technique is so different from that used by Rori on the three district gods that its locality remains doubtful" (1944:368).

Buck's tentative attribution of Figure 4 to Mangaia is strengthened by an 1867 catalogue entry describing a similar item — (Figure 5 above) in the Evangelical Missionary Museum exhibition at the Paris Universal Exhibition, in 1867 — as originating from Mangaia.

6

6A

7

FIGURES 6 AND 6A (DETAIL)
District god of Mangaia. Oldman 432. O 50.106. Length 109 cm [43 in.] Otago Museum (photo: Otago Museum/ Bridgeman Images).

FIGURE 7
Staff god donated by the Boston Marine Society in 1869 to the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Length 113 cm [44 in] (photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 69-20-70/1354; digital file number 99210003).

FIGURE 7A
Detail, Mangaian staff god in the Peabody Museum, with evidence of small sennit ties (photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 69-20-70/1354; digital file number 99210004).

7A

Figure 5. Location unknown.
An albumen print (photographer unknown) of a Mangaian 'idol' appeared as Plate V in the catalogue of the Musée des Missions évangéliques, at the Exposition Universelle, Paris 1867. The original catalogue entry (Figure 5a above) notes "Idol made with curved spikes, shells, and hair braids, Mangaia, Oceania." The figure had been donated to the museum by the London Missionary Society. Its current location is unknown.

Figure 6. Otago Museum, Dunedin.
Another Mangaian carved staff god is found in the Oldman Collection, Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand. Oldman describes the figure as follows –

One of the great tribal deities of Mangaia. Brown hard wood, head finely carved and pierced; design consists of eight ribs, three on each face and one on each side, carved with conventional figures of deities; the spaces between ribs are pierced with lozenge-shaped holes; below the ribs is a band of carved and pierced deities; handle round in section, end is turret-shaped and carved with fourteen conventionalized deities, some broken. Very old. Length, 43ins. [109 cms]; head, 17ins.[43 cms] width, 7ins. [18cms] by 4ins. [10cms] thick (Oldman 1938:3).

Figure 7. Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
Another Mangaian staff god is found in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Boston, USA. Reference 70/1354. Donated by the Boston Marine Society in 1869. L: 113 cm [44 ins].

Buck records of the Peabody staff god, "many of the arches are broken off and the shaft is bare of decoration" (1944:372). For Figures 6 and 7, both the tapa and the ka'a (sennit) lashing on the hafts was either never present or, more probably, removed. As noted by Gill, with the conversion to Christianity – "The wrappings were thrown away, and for the first time since they were carved by Rori they were exposed to the vulgar gaze" (1894:334). Some sennit, possibly originally used to hold feathers in place (Buck 1944:375), is found on the ridges of the head of the figure as seen in Figure 7a.

Figure 8. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
An eighth staff god associated with Mangaia – and the least known in the literature – was purchased by the Masco Corporation Foundation and donated to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). According to Nancy Thomas, Deputy Director, LACMA, (Art Administration and Collections), this staff god was "collected [on Mangaia] by the London Missionary Society in 1823" (EAC e-news 2009:2).

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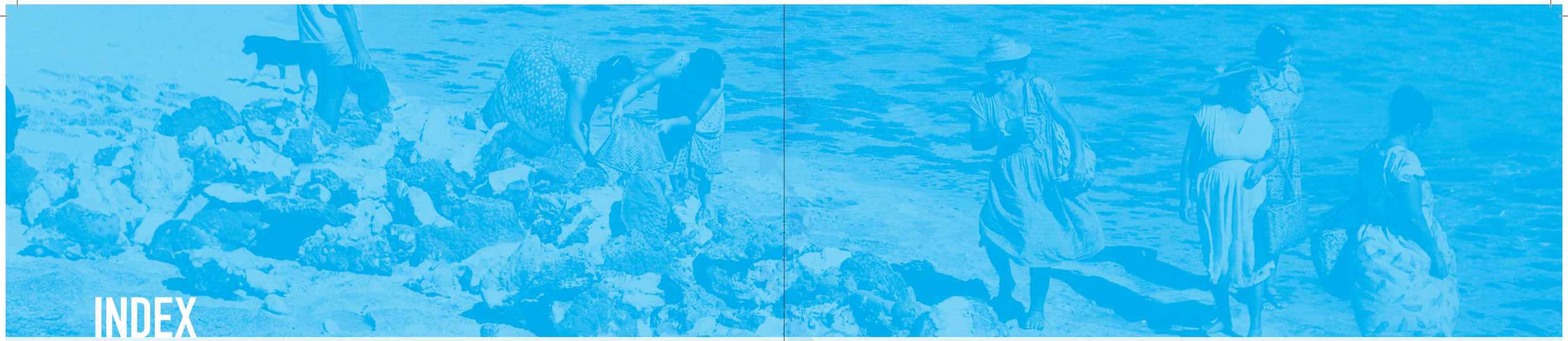
8

8A

FIGURE 8 (FRONT) & 8A (REVERSE)
Sculpture, c.1800. Wood, fibre, human hair, and feathers. Mangaia. Overall: $46^{1/2} \times 5^{1/8} \times 3^{3/8}$ in. Length Feather max 4 in. (10.16 cm). Length Feather min $2^{1/4}$ in. (5.72 cm) (photo M.2009.126.1 © Los Angeles County Museum of Art, www.lacma.org).



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